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A FAITH FOR THE WORLD

BY

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book may be briefly stated. It is to set out the main elements of the case for the Christian world mission, and to show some of the principal tasks which are bound up with that mission. The book owes everything to the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, and could not have been written without it, but it is not directly concerned with that meeting. It seeks, rather, to draw attention to some of the principles which must be accepted and to some of the necessities which must be met if the generous enthusiasms stirred up by the Jerusalem meeting are to bear fruit.

I have to thank many people without whose help I could not have completed the work. The Rev. E. Shillito and Miss Wilson of the United Council for Missionary Education have seen the book through the press; to them and their committee I am indebted for much counsel and help. I am not the first author who has yielded his manuscript with fear and trembling to the Procrustean bed of the United Council, only to find that Procrustes turned out to be a ministering angel. I have to thank my colleagues, Miss B. D. Gibson and Mr J. H. Oldham, for reading

the manuscript and making valuable suggestions, and my sons David and James for help with references. Most of all I am indebted to the advice and inspiration of my wife.

I have drawn heavily upon the ample resources of the complete Report of the Jerusalem meeting, and hope that to some readers this book may serve as an incentive to explore the wealth of material contained there.

W. P.

LONDON
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A FAITH FOR THE WORLD

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

THE CHALLENGE TO THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

I

CHRISTIANITY throughout its whole history has been a missionary religion. At times the tide of missionary fervour has ebbed, as between the end of the mediæval period of missions, when Europe had been more or less converted, and the opening of new worlds in East and West by Columbus and Vasco da Gama; or when the new religious impulse of Protestantism took long to relate itself to the idea of evangelizing the world. Nearly always these signs of ebb and flow correspond to movements in the secular history of the time. It is, for instance, no disparagement of the zeal of the Jesuit missionaries of the Counter-Reformation to point out that Spain and Portugal came to their kingdom of trade and colonization before England and Holland, and that this is part of the meaning of the great missionary outpouring of the Roman Church in those days. But throughout that history of a missionary expansion during nineteen hundred years, one sees a constant missionary conviction deep in the heart of the Church, while secondary motives, related to contemporary events and conditions, present them-

selves and give point and edge to the missionary ideas of successive generations.

It is a wonderful history. It enshrines some of the noblest stories of humanity: Paul, Patrick, Boniface, Lull, Xavier, Carey, Livingstone, Patteson—the list might extend far without going beyond the names of men whom any society or profession would call great. Saints, apostles, martyrs, teachers, writers, doctors, scholars, preachers, statesmen—all are there.

Missionary work has left its mark on the story of the nations. It is no mere enthusiasm, but sober judgment, that tells us how modern Hinduism has been remoulded by its contacts with Christianity; how profound was the effect of missionary education in China; or how for long years the only messenger of hope and help to the African was the missionary.

It is, we repeat, a great record. And it will surely continue, for the missionary passion lies much too deep in the heart of Christianity to cease while the world does not acknowledge Christ. Nevertheless, it is still a question whether the mind and heart of the Church will respond to the missionary call in the world to-day with the ardour and *abandon* which that call demands. Never did more difficulties press in upon the missions of the Church. Never did more subtle problems call for its best intellects. Never were there more strongholds that challenged the passionate surrender of life to cast them down. Never, on the other hand, were more vigorous and systematic efforts put forth to bring the facts of the missionary enterprise to the knowledge of the Church. Still the balance swings uncertain. Is the missionary task to be the care of

the whole Church, or of an enthusiastic but tiny minority within it? Will the main stream of the Church's life, as it gathers strength again after the cruel losses of the war, turn away from the thought of the world mission of Christianity as unessential, archaic, and misconceived? Or will the Church give itself to its world task with all the passion and more than all the knowledge of the earlier days?

II

Much in our modern world is hostile to the conception of a universal faith. It may be well, therefore, to examine some important trends of life and thought in our time, for we may find that some of the objections to the universality of the Christian faith spring from what is best in the world's life, and are due to misconceptions of the nature of the Christian mission. Other objections we may find to be more stubborn, and to spring from some fault in thought or insincerity in life.

Intellectually, the modern world is the child of the Renaissance. When the chains were broken that bound the minds of men to the deductive learning of the mediæval schoolmen, the great liberation meant not merely the joy of studying the glories of classical literature: the true child of the intellectual freedom of the Renaissance was science. It is only in the last two or three generations that natural science has come to occupy a dominating position in human thought, but looking back we can see how steadily and inevitably it made its victory sure, reducing one after another

the strongholds of infallibility and obscurantism. To-day, in the whole educated world, East and West alike, science has become the principal influence, intellectually speaking, in human life. The students of the world are giving their allegiance to science. Where faith and demonstration, the pulpit and the laboratory, seem to be in conflict, the educated youth of the world is inclined to cast its vote for the laboratory. In Japan, China, and India colleges of all kinds have accepted the scientific method of explanation. The authority of science excels all other authority. Its conclusions are accepted without question, and, in comparison with it, religion of any kind seems to be a kind of superstition. "I am inclined to think," says Dr Rufus Jones, "that there is no one thing that more impresses a man as he travels through country after country around the world than the spell which science has thrown over the minds of youth to-day." [1]

Nothing is taken for granted in the world where science reigns. The only authority accepted is the authority of verifying experience. The man of science goes humbly about his tasks, testing every step, moving from point to point as the verification of hypothesis and the proof of laboriously collected instance permit. In this he is following a true method, which none can assail, or, indeed, do other than admire.

Often, however, the man of science wants to insist

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 306. (This Report of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, 1928, is contained in eight volumes, a full list of which appears on p. 249.)

that the proofs which are to be allowed in the case of religion shall be of the same material kind as those which he himself properly employs in his own studies. Even where this materialistic basis of thought has been superseded, as it has been with the best of modern scientific thinkers, there is still a tendency to insist that phenomena which arise in the course of scientific investigation provide the true basis for religion, rather than the facts and experiences which religion knows to be its own life-blood. Science is not hostile to religion nowadays, but it is a little contemptuous of it. It offers a kind of "spiritual," but the gift is sometimes hardly worth accepting. Religion cannot live on the emotion generated by observing a certain upward trend in evolution, especially when we are assured that such an upward trend, though manifest, is also purposeless.[1] Because the scientific study of material facts does not suggest personality in God (as it certainly does not, taken by itself) the idea of Divine personality is dismissed almost unexamined.[2] Or we are solemnly told that only quantity counts, not quality—for that is really what is meant when it is said that the immeasurable æons through which the world has existed, and the immeasurable æons through which it may still exist, prevent us from holding that any one event or personality can be of unique and supreme significance.

On a planet more than a thousand million years old it is hard to believe—as do Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and Buddhists—that the most im-

[1] *Cf.* J. S. Huxley, *Essays of a Biologist*, pp. 41, 61. [2] *Ibid*, p. 215.

portant event has occurred within the last few thousand years, when it is clear that there were great civilizations before that event.[1]

Again, scientific writers tend to treat religion as something that has never risen above its crudest origins, or at least is perfectly understood by reference to them. Even when the idea has been grasped that Christianity contains values higher than those of jungle worship, it is still assumed that religion belongs to the infancy of the race and will be sloughed off with the advance of civilization. Writers such as Mr Julian Huxley are much more just to the claims of religion, but even he seems to regard it as axiomatic that no religious idea or experience, however valuable in its own context, can be regarded as more than a stage on the way to a goal so far distant as to be barely conceivable. The evolutionary idea, invaluable in its proper place, is on the whole hostile to uniqueness, absoluteness, finality of any kind.

The view that all is relative and nothing absolute in religion is reinforced by one department of scientific thought, namely, the psychological. What appear to be rationally based and conceived ideas are now often asserted to be rationalizations, dressings-up in rational clothes, as it were, of emotional states. From that it is an easy step to the position that what appear to be different and radically separate religious systems of thought are really parallel, and equally useful and true, rationalizations of a common experience.

[1] J. B. S. Haldane, *Possible Worlds*, p. 17.

Science, then, tends on the whole to make things difficult for the believer in the universality of Christianity, partly because a universal religion savours of the imposition of an external authority; partly because religion is thought of as a part of the developing social life of man, and as such to be susceptible to the laws of evolution; partly because religion is too often discussed and dismissed on grounds that no religious man who understood what he believed would regard as adequate, and therefore the grounds on which a belief in the universal validity of belief in Christ becomes possible never appear at all—they are not disproved, they are never heard.

III

If the liberation of thought which produced science is one element in the modern world, another product of the working of that same leaven of freedom is education. Has any department of human study seen greater transformations within our own day than education? To an outsider it appears that the main line of development has come about through the insistence on the primary value and importance of the child himself. "To teach John Latin you must know John as well as Latin," runs the tag, and it is upon the importance of "knowing John" that all the newer methods are based. So Christian a judgment of the value of the child needs no comment here. It is one of the many examples of the way in which along what are in a sense "secular" lines, a fundamentally Christian value, that is, a value which

was present to the thought of Jesus Christ, is being recovered for us.

Moreover, like science, the new education is international and universal in its scope. The ideas and standards that control teaching, and especially the best teaching, are the same all over the world today to a degree never known before.

Here is indeed ground for rejoicing. But one aspect of this development of educational thought deserves to be noticed. If you believe in the primacy of the child and in his inalienable right to freedom, and if you desire that the way, the truth, and the life that he accepts shall be without question those in which he finds his true self-expression and which he can truly make his own—then you will perhaps be jealous, or a little suspicious, of a movement which sets out to give to all men a common view of the greatest of all questions, namely, God and His dealing with the world. Can "proselytism" go along with education? is a question not infrequently asked by the keen educator. Is not "missionary education" rather a contradiction in terms? How can you educate if you have decided beforehand what a child or a student ought, if possible, to be led to believe?

IV

When we turn to the world of economics we meet a different line of objection. The older nations of the western world are becoming obsessed by the feeling of incompetence in face of economic problems apparently insoluble, or only soluble by a degree of inter-

national solidarity, and consequent willingness for mutual self-sacrifice, which is not within sight. The economic problems of a capitalist society are being projected into the East, where even those comparatively poor checks and guides which the Christian conscience was able to provide will be largely lacking. The life of the factory is becoming familiar to the East not less than to the West; the labour of children, overcrowded housing, strikes and unemployment, the abuse of the work of women, the diversity in wealth between the economic classes—all these things are reproducing themselves in India, China, and Japan.

Of the men and women who have most passionately studied these things some have come to the conclusion that in the last resort economic forces and facts are practically the only things that matter, and that all human history may be interpreted in the light of them. It is not necessary to be a Communist to think this; many think it who are not Communists, and far more act upon the belief who never consciously think it at all. The plea of the desperate, hungry man —*il faut vivre*—is not in essence different from the theoretical view that human history simply registers the effects of economic causes, and that the only important thing you can do for anyone, individual or people, is to change the economic environment of life.

The most ardent exponents of this view, carried to its logical extreme, have caused, it is said, to be written over the doors of the Russian churches the words, "Religion is the opium of the People." But we need not go so far to find sincere and honest lovers

of their kind who are puzzled by an enterprise which sets out to convert mankind to a common religious belief, feeling not so much that it is wrong as that it is irrelevant. In a world where the vices of competitive society, just as they are being heavily assailed in their homeland of the West, are finding a new ground of expansion in the East, why spend time on something so remote from the centre, so far away on the circumference of things, as religious belief? It is in economic redemption that the key lies.

V

When we are estimating the trends in modern life and thought which make against belief in the universal mission of Christianity, we must in all honesty include the widespread criticism of organized Christianity and the Church. It is no part of the purpose of this book to join in the facile condemnation which seems to be based on a determination to ignore all the real achievements of organized Christianity. "The difference between the Europe known to St Paul and the Europe known to Dante, to Luther, to Wesley, is plain for all to see." [1] With all its defects, there is no international fellowship which can compare with the Christian Church for effectiveness. Still, Christians must not be content to be judged by the standards of worldly institutions. They are judged, and they ought to be judged, by the standard of Christ. Undoubtedly some sincere objections to Christian missions are based on a dislike of organized Christianity and an

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 488.

unwillingness to see it expand throughout the world. It would not be honest to deny that some of its manifestations are but a poor argument for universal missions.

The divisions of Christendom are a standing obstacle to the progress of the Christian mission. No amount of argument will convince the unprejudiced observer that a Christian fellowship so divided as the Church is to-day can hope to win the suffrages of mankind.

Some of the arguments used to defend Christian missions are intolerable to some of the best minds in the modern world. The missionary cause is sometimes (unconsciously perhaps, but the danger is then all the greater) tied up with ideas of imperial expansion or stability,[1] or it is urged that the Christianization of the Far East is necessary to avert disastrous economic competition or a Yellow Peril. Apart from the fact that these arguments are not valid in their own field, every time they are urged the missionary cause is damned in the eyes of some of those whose help is most worth having. The religion of Jesus Christ goes ill with self-regarding national policies, and to this fact many who do not call themselves Christians are highly sensitive.

There is now an undoubted stirring of the social conscience throughout the Church in all denominations, but, up to quite recent times, it has not been unreasonable for the critic to say that a Church which is sluggish

[1] See the recent amazing statement of M. Poincaré in the French Chamber about the function of French Catholic missions as emissaries of French influence and culture.—*The Times*, October 5th, 6th, 8th, 1928.

and inert in the face of the appalling social problems of the industrialized West has no claim to carry any message of life and healing to the rest of the world. "The eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth" is a fair criticism to make of the "Mrs Jellaby" strain in organized Christianity—the tendency to care for the redemption of people far away, but to neglect the need of a neighbour fallen among thieves.

We do not add to the list the charge that organized Christianity is obscurantist and afraid of truth, for it seems to us undoubtedly true that Christian thinkers deal much more fairly with the claims of science or economics, art or philosophy, than do writers in other fields with the claims of Christianity. But the most serious difficulty of all arises from the conviction held by many sincere souls that the Church is afraid of the moral teaching of the Master from whom it takes its name, is afraid of conflict with the dominant vested interests of the day, afraid of its own powerful members, afraid to take as an all-sufficient guide the life and spirit of the Master whom it calls divine.

Some such criticisms as these are in many minds, and to those who hold them there can be little meaning in the idea of a world-wide Christian mission.

Can we sum up this criticism of the Christian world mission and define its implied alternative? Man, by his own efforts of mind and heart and will, can redeem himself and the order of his world. Science will patiently discover the truth about the material world in which man lives. Education will strike off the fetters from the human spirit and set the children free to realize themselves. Economic study will find the

solution to the problem of riches and poverty. Medical and other technical sciences will abolish physical misery. Art and letters will uplift the soul by the contemplation of absolute values. Such an enterprise as the Christian world mission must then seem to the scientist to be irrational, to the educator a thing savouring of the old authoritarianism, to those versed in economics irrelevant, to the æsthete something vulgar, and, perhaps we should add, to the critic of organized Christianity an impertinence.

VI

Nevertheless, in spite of these powerful tendencies in thought and life which are inimical to the missionary idea, there is much also in the modern world which calls for a universal religion, and in so doing echoes the deepest conviction of the missionary's heart. The growing unity of mankind, wrought by education, travel, trade, and a hundred other influences, seems to make it necessary that if there is to be religion in the world at all it shall be a universal one. Truth is truth for all thinking men, and nothing but the temporary aberrations of such passions as nationalism can make men believe that for one group of them there is a special kind of truth. The growing aversion of the world from the excesses of nationalism is actually increasing the desire for something—be it religion or something else—which will transcend the power of national loyalties and bind men together where their passions incline to rend them apart.

Not only does the unity of nature demand a unity of religion, but such unity of religion would be of the highest importance as a bond of civilization and a guarantee of the federalist as against the solely nationalist ideal.[1]

All experience goes to show that a world-wide society needs an adequate basis, and that this basis must be spiritual. Can the basis be found in some common humanism, some elevation of the nobler parts of man ?

Mr Clive Bell, in a recent book, has produced what seems to be an extraordinarily effective exhibition of the impotence of civilization to save mankind.[2] He shows how most of the valued human virtues cannot be regarded as a part of civilization. The Veddahs of Ceylon, as he points out, are faithful to their wives ; immoral practices found among the Chinese at the height of the civilization of the T'ang or Sung dynasties would be scorned by the primitive Igorrotes of Luzon. Patriotism, chastity, mechanical contrivances, candour, cleanliness, a sense of the rights of property, a belief in God, the future life and eternal justice—all these things have existed in uncivilized (or comparatively uncivilized) societies and been absent, some or all of them, from the highest civilization, which Mr Bell finds to have existed in the Athens of the fourth century, in Renaissance Italy, and in the France of Voltaire.

Civilization, he contends, consists in two things : a sense of values and the enthronement of reason.

[1] J. S. Huxley, *Essays of a Biologist*, pp. 301-2.

[2] Clive Bell, *Civilization*. It should be added that Mr Bell would probably disown any interest in " saving " mankind.

Where these two attributes are typical of a society it may be called civilized. The Athenians were able to stage an anti-militarist play during the most agonizing period of the war with Sparta ; nothing else mattered but the excellence of the play. The French ardently welcomed David Hume, the philosopher, to the staff of the British Embassy in Paris, his appearance constituting a social event of the first magnitude.

That in each of these cases both the enthronement of reason and the possession of a highly cultivated sense of values are manifested cannot be doubted. What is not less manifest is that these virtues—and they are the chief intellectual virtues—are no stable foundation on which to build or to rebuild society. They are aristocratic, without message for the mass of mankind. They have nothing to say to the need of the ordinary man and of the ordinary human society to be redeemed from both weakness of will and the bondage of habit, as well as from the clouds of ignorance. But it is probably true that if we seek for the finest flower of civilization it is here that we shall find it.

VII

Only in religion will the world find the common basis of its life, and the strength and guidance that it needs. No civilization is safe which does not draw upon the spiritual forces of the universe and the profoundest elements in the nature of man. Something there is in human nature which rests for ever impatient with the finite and the temporal. " Thou hast made us for Thyself and our hearts are restless till they

rest in Thee," expresses what is felt by most men at some time in their lives.

One of the most significant evidences of this human need for religion is to be found in the field of organized religion itself, where there has been a remarkable increase of emphasis on all that element in religion which is " not ourselves." Professor Otto in *The Idea of the Holy* voices, in his discussion of the " numinous " —the " awe-ful "—something that lies at the basis of the consciousness of all men who have any real idea of religion. On all hands one sees those types of religion which are purely moralistic or intellectualistic yielding to those which suggest a more profound consciousness of the reality of God. The worship of God, exhibited as a means to the stability of society or the improvement of morals, can never appeal to men in the same way as when it is interpreted as the loving and adoring communion with One whom to know and to love is the supreme good, exhausting and recreating the entire power of the soul, needing not to be justified by reference to any other standard.

Religion, then, the world must have. It must be universal in its meaning and power, for the world is becoming one society, conscious of common needs and speaking a common language. It must be able to do justice to the claims of the intellect, not fearing or restraining the investigations of scientist and philosopher. It must be more than abreast of the best that men are thinking in the realm of morals, supplying the passion that reform needs, sharpening conscience, and strengthening will. It must touch the great heights and depths, not be chatty and thin

and pedestrian and convenient, but such as to convince a man or a nation that it is a poor thing to gain the whole world at the cost of the soul.

It is the belief of Christians that the Christian religion is this universal faith of which the world stands in need. The rest of this book is an attempt to explain what is meant by this faith, and to defend the claim advanced in its name. We shall seek in the first place to show what answers have been made by the great religions of the world, and what answers are being made to-day to the fundamental questions asked by man in face of the world in which he lives. We shall see that the points at which these answers fail are precisely those which manifest the strength of the Christian religion, and that in that religion we have a faith essentially universal, entirely satisfying to the need of men. We shall go on to show what is the nature of the missionary enterprise in the modern world, what are its most urgent tasks, what readjustments are needed in outlook and policy if the Christian mission is not to waste itself in hopeful words, and what manner of service the missionary task calls for in Christians to-day. We shall try to show that the universality of the Christian faith and the facing of the real missionary tasks are not separate, but interdependent. The uniqueness and universality of Christianity have no meaning unless the Christian mission is pressed on not only among all men but in all departments of human life, while the tremendous challenge of the present day can only be met by a deepened and enhanced conviction of the truth of the revelation of God in Christ.

PART ONE
THE MESSAGE

CHAPTER I
GOD AND MAN

I

THERE have been two main lines of approach to God discernible in the history of religion. The one may be roughly called theoretical, the other practical. The one is concerned with the question, "What is the nature of the ultimate reality of the world?" The other is concerned with the question, "How can I live aright?" Along the one line certain words arise readily to describe the attributes of God—Wisdom, Truth, Light; along the other, no less readily, words such as Power, Life, Love.

To the average Anglo-Saxon mind, if two things are compared as theoretical and practical, it is tantamount to saying that one is unimportant and the other important. In the present case this is in no wise true. Undoubtedly it is more to be desired that a man should live rightly and think badly than that he should think clearly and live vilely. But if one lesson stands out clearly in the long history of the world's religion, it is that men will not permanently be held to moral codes and ideals or ways of life which to the

more thoughtful among them are lacking in ultimate sanction. It is never easy to be good. *Facilis descensus Averno*, and the ordinary man will not readily love his enemies, or abstain from excessive indulgence of his carnal appetites, or prefer under certain circumstances poverty to riches, unless he has a reasonably strong conviction that such a course of action, running counter as it does to all his natural desires, is nevertheless in line with something more fundamental, more "real," even than those clamorous desires which are never far away from the surface of his life. When St Paul speaks of Christ as "the Power and the Wisdom of God," he is saying no less than that in Him the two needs of mankind are fulfilled, in Him the two questions receive one common answer. Both questions are necessary; we need both the power and the wisdom of God, both light and life, both to know the truth of God and to love Him and yield to Him as love.

Nevertheless it is a remarkable fact that religious development has generally been along one or the other of these two lines and not along both together. This is no matter of East against West, as some might hastily conclude. Greek religion, like Indian, was concerned primarily with the reflective and speculative approach to the great question: the sages sought God as an explanation of the world, a Reality underlying it. Judaism and Islam approached God along the line of the prophet, who communicated what God did and said; they found God in act rather than in idea. Islam is "Eastern" (whatever that means), and the Greeks are undoubtedly "Western,"

so that we are saved from the traditional and superficial antithesis of the "practical" West and the "theoretical" East. The issues lie far deeper than this. Men have tried to get at the ultimate reality of things without caring about the power that is needed for the moral struggle; and have poured themselves out in love and adoration to gods whom thinking, reflective souls could not but regard as lower than their own best ideas of truth, beauty, or goodness. The fundamental problem of religion lies just at the point where this wrong separation has so often come about. That which a man can love as God, and can obey in the moral sphere as God, must be also that in which the universe has its being. Thus Wordsworth can write of Duty:

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
And the most ancient Heavens, through Thee, are fresh and strong.

We turn now to consider, in what must be a summary way, the manner in which the great religions of the world have answered this fundamental question of mankind. In doing so we shall confine ourselves principally to the highly organized religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam. The primitive stage of religion commonly known as Animism is of the highest importance for the comparative study of religion. It enters in some degree into the practice of all the higher religions. A consideration of it is, however, hardly germane to our purpose here, for we are seeking to discover a religious basis which shall be of universal validity for the life of men everywhere,

and to obtain answers to the great human questions which will commend themselves to the conscience of humanity. The importance of Animism does not lie in this realm. We may, however, take with us from the most primitive religions one fact, and carry it into our study of the higher religions. The sense of awe in the presence of the Holy or Sacred is found alike in primitive man and in his civilized brother. The " numinous," as Dr Otto has taught us to call it, is of the essence of religion, and we may justly look with doubt on any religious solution to our problem which lacks this element.

To our consideration of what are usually known as the non-Christian religions, we shall add a brief discussion of the humanist religion which is struggling to formulate itself in the educated world of the West as a religion for the modern man.

II

India has given thought to religion as no other land has. While in the Indian religious tradition most of the main tendencies of religious growth are represented, we shall deal only with two chief types. There is in the first place that majestic attempt to understand the universe, and to escape from the clutch of the world of things into the presence of the Eternal, which culminates in the doctrine of the Vedanta. This is a system of pure pantheism, perhaps the most complete ever invented by man. In its most logical form the doctrine is that of *advaita*, that is, " non-duality." God—or, we should rather say, Reality—is thought

of as an absolute unity, admitting within itself no difference, and not to be defined by description or attribute. It is Brahman (a neuter word), the eternal and absolute reality. The world of things, persons, history, and moral struggle is a world of illusion (*maya*). The path of salvation is the path of release (*moksha*)—release, that is, from the world of appearance and illusion into the world of reality, which is Brahman, the eternal spirit. Release is obtained by a man's realizing that his soul or spirit is identical with the one supreme spirit. Other than Brahman there is no reality. He, or it, is "one without a second," and the message which religion at its truest has to address to the individual is, "Thou art that" (*i.e.* thou art identical with Brahman, the Divine).

We may admire the tremendous consistency with which this doctrine was worked out by its most thorough exponents, but this should not blind us to its great demerits as a religion. Nothing which utterly denies the value of the human personality can in practice give the religious support and guidance that men need.

The Vedanta doctrine presents to us a world view which is serious and profound; it seeks with extraordinary intellectual courage an ultimate unity which shall include all that is. And some such unification is a necessity of our intellects: it gives the universe a character, and makes it possible for us to come to terms with it. But the absolute unity of *advaita* leaves no room for the spirit of man to breathe. Its unity reveals itself as a unity of death, not life. Its ultimate end is emptied of all ethical significance.[1]

[1] Dr Macnicol, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 42.

The other road along which Hindu religious thought has travelled is the opposite of that just sketched. It is the road of *Bhakti*, the way of love and faith directed towards a personal deity. The incarnations of Vishnu, Rama and Krishna have been the principal objects of devotion in the Bhakti cults, and in South India the god Shiva has been bound up with it. This side of Hinduism comes nearest to Christian religious feeling. The lyrics of the Bhakti saints are full of sentiments which can be taken over, virtually as they stand, and made the vehicle of Christian devotion to Christ.

Such symbols as those of the dusty, wayworn traveller, the voyager across the dark sea of life, the blind man tapping along the road with his stick, the child that has lost his mother, the wild swan winging its way home across the hills and plains—these and a hundred other pictures, full of deep human feeling, testify in every language of India to the sense of man's homelessness and to the instinct that his home is God.[1]

A figure like that of Sita the wife of Rama, beloved among the women of India, is an altogether admirable object of moral aspiration, yet the same can hardly be said of some others, and Indian writers themselves speak of the "horrible degeneracy" liable to follow upon "headlong, unguided Bhakti." With all its tremendous religious emotion, the Bhakti religion falls short in one vital respect: the basis of it all is shadowy and uncertain. The figures of its adoration are mythical, its intellectual value is low, its morality cannot be carried back into the depths of reality. With all its emotional power it seems to be

[1] Dr Macnicol, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 39.

no more than a protest against the barrenness of the doctrine of the Vedanta. Indeed, one may see the history of Hinduism as an oscillation between two extremes—on the one hand, a philosophical abstraction which, in the effort to satisfy the mind's desire for a unified view of reality, gives man nothing to worship : on the other hand, a religion of passionate devotion which yet cannot answer and cannot drown the questionings of the mind.

In the traffic of man with God there is one crucial issue, the fact of sin. The striving for righteousness and the knowledge of God is not a striving *in vacuo*, as it were ; men who take these things seriously know only too well that they fall away from their own ideals, and that there is round their feet the clog and fetter of sinful habit. Here, again, Hinduism has with characteristic intellectual courage given to the world a theory of remarkable completeness, the famous doctrine of *karma*. *Karma* means doing, and the doctrine of *karma* is the doctrine of cause and effect. What a man sows, that shall he also reap : good or evil action in this life will be followed inexorably by happiness or suffering in a future incarnation ; suffering in this life is to be interpreted as the penal consequence of wrongdoing in a previous life. To the question put to Jesus, " Did this man sin, or his parents, that he was born blind ? " Hinduism would doubtless reply, " In a previous life this man sinned."

This teaching is entitled to serious consideration, for it is an honest attempt to make sense of the most difficult of all human problems, the problem of suffering. It is defended to-day by sincere Hindus as a

doctrine that takes sin seriously, and does not make light of it, as they sometimes suppose the doctrine of forgiveness to do. It is a statement of a moral law, impersonal and inexorable in its working.

Nevertheless the doctrine is wholly unsatisfactory. The law of cause and effect, of sowing and reaping, is true so far as it goes, but when this law is linked with the idea of rebirth all moral value is taken from it. Again, sin is not just the same thing as "evil" or suffering. Sin has little meaning if it is not seen in relation to a person against whom one has sinned; but the wheel of *karma* and the chain of birth are impersonal. Moreover, the world in which the law of *karma* works is that same world of illusion (*maya*) from which the saint should escape. He will escape, however, not by doing good actions, for that, though it will give him a better incarnation in the future, will still retain him within this coil of mortality. Release lies in escape from the world of appearance by realization that the soul is identical with Brahman the Supreme. Salvation, that is to say, is salvation from suffering, from illusion, from a world of impermanence and unreality into a world of eternal being: it is hardly salvation from sin.

We must beware of insisting too rigorously upon the logic of the *karma* doctrine, and must remember that many Hindus do not in practice yield to its complete fatalism any more than, as Dr Macnicol reminds us, Calvinists are to be judged by *Johannes Agricola in Meditation*. Poets like the Tamil Manikkar Vasagar can sing in a strain that recalls the hymns of the Wesleys:

Thou mad'st me thine : didst fiery poison eat,
That I might eat with Thee the food of heaven,
I, meanest one, O Thou Compassionate.

Yet we cannot underrate the importance of so widely spread a doctrine as that of *karma*, and we may doubt whether within the range of the ideas of illusion, rebirth, release, and impersonal being, there can be any radical dealing with sin.

III

Gautama, the Buddha, is beyond question the greatest of all the sons of India. Not for nothing has this prophet of the Sakyas been called "The Light of Asia," for he has cast over half the world the charm and spell of a dimly-realized and yet powerful personality. It is one of the ironies of history that this man, so far above all others of his race in religious genius, should have given his name to a religion which was driven out of India, and that his countrymen should only now be recovering a true understanding of his worth.

It is difficult to say with any certainty what were the teachings of the Buddha. One thing is clear, that it is possible to discuss the whole range of Buddhist ideas and hardly mention the idea of God. The historic Buddha found the path of enlightenment in the Four Noble Truths : that all life is suffering ; that suffering comes of desire ; that cessation of suffering comes only by the cessation of desire ; and that there is a way to the cessation of desire.

Behind this teaching lies a theory of the world which we may call atomistic. The universe is an unbroken unity, made up of a vast number of elements which never become more or less, and are governed and rearranged continually by the Law. Man is a part of this world ; he is composed of properties or qualities which, but for the emergence of the disturbing factor of personality, should obey the great Law. It is the appearance of desire that breaks the universal harmony, for separate personality is a fruit of desire, and is evil. Desire produces a continuation of the personality in other lives, and prevents the elements that make up a man from being re-absorbed into the harmony of the whole. When desire ceases, this disturbing factor disappears and there is made possible the perfect bliss of Nirvana.

There seems to be no doubt that the Buddha thought of reality as impersonal, an abstract Order. Moreover, this element in Buddhism has held a certain attractiveness, not only for Buddhists in Ceylon and Japan, but for some western minds, who see in it a kinship with some of the ideas of modern science. Probably many of us can in some moods feel the attractiveness of this idea of resolving the troubles and perplexities of a personal existence by becoming absorbed into a sea of being—not annihilated, but resolved into atoms which hold each its place in relation to the whole through the universal Law.

Salvation in this view does not mean to find and to know God, but to be re-absorbed into the eternal order, returning to the source from which one ought never to have departed.

We find [says a Japanese Buddhist scholar] the Law in all things when we see them as they really are. . . . It is the first and last principle by which all things in the universe are controlled and placed in their proper places. . . . We have no external creator or upholder of it. God, if any, in Buddhism is the Law. He exists in the sense of life or the power of the universe in itself. We experience Him in the harmonious order of things, in the intelligible and merciful activity of nature, or in the conscientious motive of human beings.[1]

So far we have given what might be called a rationalist interpretation of Buddhism. This, though a vital element in Buddhism, is to be balanced by another interpretation, the mystical. Dr Otto recalls vividly

a conversation I had with a Buddhist monk. He had been putting before me methodically and pertinaciously the arguments for the Buddhist "theology of negation." . . . When he had made an end I asked him what then Nirvana itself is; and after a long pause came at last the single answer, low and restrained: "Bliss—unspeakable." And the hushed restraint of that answer, the solemnity of his voice, demeanour, and gesture, made more clear what was meant than the words themselves.[2]

Buddha himself was in some sense a mystic. The Eightfold Way to be trodden by all faithful souls ends with "right ecstasy," that is, the mystical experience. The Buddha is shown in the early sculptures as a mystic of the well-known Indian type. He spoke of

[1] Ishizuka San, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 170.
[2] *The Idea of the Holy* (English Trans.), p. 39.

the experience of Nirvana, the cessation of desire, with the ecstasy of immediate knowledge, and he enjoined on the monks and nuns in the Order he founded the practice of trances as a method of achieving the mystical experience. Mysticism, however, may have either personal or impersonal objects. It is difficult to believe that the Buddha enjoyed and sought to lead his followers into communion with a personal reality, or that in the mystical experience any of the characteristics of the moral life were maintained.

To the problem of sin, the answer of the Buddha is simple. Sin is a part of that world of desire from which we are to escape. It is due to ignorance—ignorance of the Way. When the mind is enlightened so that a man follows the Way, he enters into the life of truth and perfect communion with reality, and all limitations and obstacles disappear.

> Ignorance [says the Japanese scholar] is the fountainhead of all forms of human vices—covetousness and anger, pride and doubt. . . . When ignorance is dispelled all evils, personal as well as social, will disappear; there comes into being the pure and genuine life of truth, for which our human nature has been seeking from the beginning.[1]

Sin is ignorance, and the gospel is not of forgiveness, but of enlightenment leading to release.

One of the puzzles of Buddhism is, that along with this doctrine of negation should go an elaborate system of morality such as is contained in the Ten Precepts. For if the path of enlightenment leads to

[1] Ishizuka San, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., pp. 182-3.

the cessation of the very desire for personal existence, why should we worry about "not drinking intoxicating liquors," or "not eating unseasonable food at night"? Probably the Buddha regarded human morality as the last stage in the Way that leads out of the world of suffering and illusion, a guide on the Way that leads from evil, but not as representing the nature of ultimate reality. We are to follow a high moral ideal, and to build up a noble character in order to achieve release from personality, good and evil alike.

Mr K. J. Saunders quotes from an early Buddhist scripture a description of the Buddha which is eloquent of the Buddhist thought about the nature of life:

Buddha, Awakened, Brother of mankind,
Controlled and rapt from things without
To inner vision, glad of heart and calm . . .
Rejoicing to renounce the lures of sense is he,
As gold well purified from earthy dross.
Lo! as some mighty elephant, superb
Amidst Himalayan forest ways he goes
So rapt in meditation, breathing deep,
Composed is he in body and in mind.
Freely he passes whereso'er he will.
As some pure lotus bloweth undefiled
So liveth he, the Uncontaminate.

We may compare it, as he does, with the picture of One "who His own self bare our sins in His own Body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed."

As Buddhism developed, the need for something more than the impersonal religion sketched above

made itself powerfully felt, and especially in Northern Buddhism received satisfaction in the doctrine of the *Bodhisattvas*. The *Bodhisattva* is one who through incarnation after incarnation gradually builds up a perfect personality. When this has been achieved, the *Bodhisattva*, though free from the bondage of this evil world, returns again and again in order to help others. Amitabha, or the Amida Buddha, is a most striking instance of this development. Amida, supposed to have been a monk on earth, and to have purged himself until he was able to return to the glorified state whence he had come, registered a vow that, should the consummation of Buddhahood ever be in his power, he would not accept deliverance unless deliverance should also mean the salvation of suffering humanity. In fulfilment of that vow he endured much suffering and pain, but in the end he triumphed, and the fruit of his labours has been the opening of a paradise in a Pure Land into which all may enter who call upon his name with faith.

Nowhere in the religions of the world does there appear a doctrine more nearly akin to the Christian idea of faith in Christ than this. It has one fatal defect, a defect which we have already seen to underlie the incarnation doctrines of Hinduism. There is no basis in history for the saving vow of Amida. The doctrine represents the longing of human hearts that something should be true: it is not itself the answer which those hearts desire. In the end we cannot assuage our souls with any God that we invent for ourselves, only with what God of His own initiative does for us. Nevertheless this doctrine, cherished by

devout souls in China as well as in Japan, shows that, as Mr Saunders puts it, " Buddhism holds out its arms to the Cross in its long history of mythical heroes whom it loves, but knows to be ideals, not persons." [1]

IV

Confucius must have been a very different person from the Buddha or the great sages of Hinduism. His interests seem to have lain in the field of social morals rather than in that of religion in the strict sense ; the bulk of his teaching is concerned with the problem of how men ought to live together, not with the nature of God, or of God's relations with men. He was not the founder of a religion, but the incarnation of the religious spirit of the Chinese, and his work was to arrange and codify the Chinese religion of his time.

In the ancient Chinese religion there is a definitely monotheistic strain. *Shang Ti* (The Ruler Above), though not perhaps regarded as fully personal, can be thought of rather as " he " than as " it." When the Chinese spoke of *Shang Ti* they thought of a supreme being in heaven who was the ruler of human destiny, but the conception of the ruler above faded away into the much vaguer term *T'ien* (heaven). This in turn became little more than a term for the moral principle of nature.

The result has been to produce a virtual agnosticism in man's thought about God. The worship of *Shang*

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 163.

Ti was reserved under the monarchy for the reigning house. The common people caught no glimpse of him, and found satisfaction in the multitude of cults and deities provided for them in Taoism and corrupt Buddhism. The educated man is agnostic. "In one thing," says a Confucianist professor, "Christians and Confucianists differ fundamentally. Christians say, 'We know that God is personal'; whereas we Confucianists say, 'We do not know, for we have no way of finding out what God is like.'" [1]

With this early monotheism, the teaching of Confucius combined a belief in *Tao*, that is, the impersonal Way in which the universe moves. Though impersonal, it is thought of as moral. It is the hidden moral principle from which the common human virtues proceed. It is the moral law that men in all ages have followed, and must follow. The universe itself partakes in this moral nature. There is a sincerity in the universe; it is system, not chaos, and man's moral life should echo the moral constancy of the heavens.

The other main element in Chinese thinking about God is the worship of ancestors. From immemorial ages the Chinese have maintained the remembrance of their departed parents. Doubtless the practice is both a cause and a token of the high value set in China upon filial piety. The custom represents a rooted belief in immortality, though rather of the clan than of the individual. It links a man with the past and the future, and it symbolizes that sense of ancestry and destiny which tends to greatness in individuals and people.

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 107.

Foreigners have discussed for centuries whether this observance is truly religious or merely a gesture of respect. The Roman Catholic Missions in China were broken three centuries ago by the great " Rites " controversy, which raged round the question whether ancestor-worship should be permitted to Christians. As we have shown, the practice has much to commend it, but it cannot be forgotten that whether or not it be idolatry, it is at least next door to idolatry. Anything is idolatry which accords to what is not God the values that belong only to God. Dr C. Y. Cheng hints plainly at the danger of a respectful gesture passing over into worship, when he says that there came to be much in ancestor-worship which " could not be reconciled with the teaching of Christ, who enjoined the worship of the one and only God our Father." [1]

We shall hardly expect to find in such a religion very definite dealing with the questions of sin and salvation. The tendency of man's nature to good may be likened, says Mencius, to " water flowing downwards." One cannot but regard as shallow the treatment of this question in the Chinese classical writings. There is an ethic directed to the achievement of a powerful social solidarity rather than a religion dealing in any profound way with the relations of man and God. Yet there have never been lacking signs that a deeper need remained unmet. As a leading Chinese said at Jerusalem :

What we really need is a thorough understanding of the teachings of Jesus and a direct experience of Christ through a living of His kind of life. The

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 111.

Christian message is clearly far above what Confucius can offer and what his followers can give. Mankind wants God. . . . God can be found in clear expression only in the Lord incarnate, our Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

And again, " In Jesus Christ men find a realization of the forgiveness of sin through faith, and the power to be and to do good. This thought we do not find in Confucian culture, yet it is something that the Confucianists need most." [2]

V

From pantheism, through rationalism, we travel on to the tremendous monotheism of Islam. Mohammed was a man possessed by an overwhelming sense of the reality of the living God, which he has communicated to his followers from the early years in Arabia until to-day. It is not only a belief in the unity of God: the God whom the Moslem knows is a *living* God. " There is no God but God," is the cry daily from the minarets of the Moslem world. Moreover, Moslems worship a God of power. Epithets commonly applied to Allah suggest other aspects—for instance the familiar name " The Compassionate "—but the predominating thought in the mind of Moslems is that of the power of God. This power is conceived of as absolute and omnipotent, because Allah is not only the supreme, but the only, reality.

Because God is thought of as absolute Might, He is hardly at all, or very imperfectly, thought of as Holi-

[1] Prof. T. C. Chao, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 359.

ness or Love. The violent deism of Islam, in its desire to proclaim unity and the power of God, has virtually made Him to be pure Force, personal in the sense of being a centre of will, but sundered from man by reason of His total " other-ness," and dealing only with man as an external force deals.

Nevertheless it is of the first importance to realize that not merely to an inner group of the elect, but broadly to the masses of the millions of Islam, there has been communicated this powerful conviction that God is, and that He is a personal force, with a definite relation to the world. Moslems, as we have seen, have pushed deism very far, and logically Allah should be entirely remote from man ; but He is brought near by the conception of His absolute omnipotence, for man is not only surrounded by the working of the will of Allah, but himself exists directly through Allah's power. Moreover, the complete agnosticism about Allah's nature and attributes, which is the logical result of the insistence upon the absolute difference between Allah and man, is to some extent averted through other approaches to Allah and to the unseen world : the way of revelation through the Prophet, the way of the Koran, and the way of mysticism. Of these three ways something may be said here, for the development of Moslem thought and practice in regard to each is highly suggestive.

The prophet Mohammed is, of course, to all Moslems the prophet who supersedes all others, though, as in the case of Jesus, or Moses, or Abraham, high honour may be paid to those who went before. But Mohammed has become more than a prophet ; he has become

in actual devotional practice a mediator between God and man.

Islam has felt the need of an intercessor, and it has fervently elevated Mohammed to that function. He is thought of as no mere passive instrument of Allah's revelation, but as a superman who brought to them the heavenly fire and was in turn their ambassador, to plead their needs and secure for them preference.[1]

In a way not dissimilar the Book, the Koran, has become an eternal book laid up in the heavens. Allah is held to have had as one of His attributes a Word, and this eternal Word in some way expressed or embodied itself in time in the Koran.

But the chief way in which the Moslem has bridged the gulf created by deism between God and the ardour of the soul is the way of mysticism. The Sufi strain in Islam represents the devotion of those who need and will have more than the formal ordinances of the mosque. The Dervish dance, the Zikr, is an exercise so framed as to lead to an ecstatic trance. It has degenerated, but even now may be converted into an aid to spiritual devotion.

There are a multitude of orders or brotherhoods spread all over the Moslem world, especially in North Africa, Turkey, and Persia. A man who joins one of these brotherhoods does not need to enter upon a monastic life. The ordinary man can become a member of one or other of the orders, attend the local Zikrs, and subject himself to the spiritual direction of the local head. It is said that millions of the rank and file of Islam, tribesmen and peasants and trades-

[1] Canon Gairdner, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 239.

men, thus maintain their spiritual life, and in these exercises find their chief interest in religion.

Yet with it all God, in Islam, remains fundamentally unknowable. His attributes we may know, His essence we cannot know. For the root of this defect we must look to the Moslem conception of absolute Might as the essence of the divine nature, for if God is only or chiefly might or force, He will treat with men as a force does, that is, in external or physical ways. Man and God alike cease to be truly personal. This is seen decisively in the Moslem aversion from the story of the Cross, which is denied in Islam. That the Divine in relation to sin could express itself in suffering is an idea wholly foreign to the Moslem mind with its obsession of the might of Allah. Yet can a true Personality, holy and loving, deal with sin in human souls in any other way ?

If Hinduism and Buddhism differ along one line from Confucianism, they differ along another from Islam. One cannot but feel that one source of the Hindu-Moslem antagonism, so grievous a fact of Indian life, is to be found here. The contrast is dramatic. On the one hand, we have the effort to find reality in an Absolute, with all that goes with human personality rigidly excluded from it. On the other, we find one element in personality, Will, elevated until it becomes virtually the sole constituent of reality. In both cases, however, we find the human heart enforcing its rights in revolt against the logic imposed upon it. In the case of Hinduism we saw the human desire to find personality in the Godhead asserting itself in the incarnation stories and the cults of faith and devotion

to personal divine objects. In Islam the connection between God and man, dimmed by the insistence on God as pure force, is restored in part by mysticism, and the mediating influence of Mohammed and his book.

VI

We have considered the historic answers of the religions of the world to the great questions of human life, of the nature of God, and of the way to salvation. It is, however, a cardinal fact in the modern world that not only in the West, but among educated men and women in the whole world, there is arising an alternative to the Christian view which is neither Hinduism nor Buddhism, Confucianism nor Islam, but the spirit of secularism. We cannot dwell here on the baser elements in secular civilization which cause grave disquiet to thoughtful people in every country in the world. After all, no one suggests that jazz, motor-cars, money-making, and economic determinism offer any hope to the world, or any solution of its difficulties. There is, however, much that is noble in the secular movement, and there are signs of an attempt at re-formulation of religion on lines which it is supposed the educated world can accept.

Invariably this secular religion (as we may call it for the want of a better term) sets aside personality in the Godhead. Man, as Mr Julian Huxley [1] says, must learn that he is not the pattern of all existences. He must not insist on drawing the garment of personality

[1] See *Religion without Revelation, passim.*

over Ultimate Reality. Writers like Mr Huxley insist, often with passion, that it is possible to have religion without believing in a personal God. What are the elements in such a religion? Let us take the analogy of science. The human mind during long centuries has found that certain laws of nature exist, but it has come also to understand that the "laws" exist in the mind of man: they are a compound of the hard facts of nature and the intellectual demands of humanity. It is the same, we are told, with the idea of God. God is the life of the world. He is one, in so far as the human soul, looking at the whole of nature and experience, can fuse it into one for itself. He is not one, but many, when the eye of science looks at the objective facts of the world. He is all that is sacred in the world of science and history, of thought and art. The magnificent panorama of history and the marvellous vision opened up by natural science are sacred, and arouse in the human heart the religious sense. To insist on clothing in the garments of personality this living fact, which in all its manifold variety arouses the sense of sacredness in man, is, in the minds of these writers, an outrage.

With all appreciation of the profoundly reverent attitude towards life shown by some of these writers, some comments must be made about this attempt to preserve the values of religion apart from personality in God.

In the first place, there is an altogether wrong-headed interpretation of what is meant by personality in the Godhead. Christians are not deists, and to believe in God in the Christian sense does not mean to

believe in an authoritarian despot who sets the world going like a clock, makes arbitrary rules, and dwells apart from the world He has made. Anyone who requires proof of the need for a Christian theology, formulated in modern terms that men can understand, will find it not so much in the positive views urged by writers like Mr Huxley (though he will find much there) as in the perversions which they apparently accept as Christian teaching.

Personality then is barred, because it means clothing God in the garments of a Turkish Sultan. It must be said that the result is to leave religion as little more than a sentiment of sacredness, and to fail utterly to supply what religion at its best must be, a principle unifying the world. It is true that in the achievements of science, in the vista of human history, in the moral struggle, in the contemplation of beauty, there is satisfaction for man's longing for the sacred, and that in the human spirit all these things can be fused into one. But the individual human spirit, able in itself to unify so little a morsel of the world, demands a Mind for which the vast whole exists, and a Will in which it takes its being.

When we ask of this secular religion what we are to think of sin, we are told that the sense of sin is often, " and especially in adolescence, a mental disease, something to be avoided if possible, and got over like the measles with the utmost celerity, instead of being paraded as admirable."[1] This note is familiar in cultivated society.

That there can be a morbid dwelling on sin, and an

[1] *Religion without Revelation.*

artificial attempt to arouse a sense of sin, one may agree; but in these matters it is surely the experts who may be trusted, and it is beyond question that the greatest and simplest souls have been those who in the presence of God have known themselves to be sinners. It is only the vision of God that arouses in man the full sense of his own unworthiness, but it must be remembered also that only communion with God can assuage the restlessness and misery which is, in our generation, so often the cloak for a consciousness of sin. A famous Edinburgh physician used to send his patients to a certain minister's church because, as he said, "—— preaches the forgiveness of sins." The *malaise* of our modern society will not be removed by anything else than the full liberating power of religious faith. The sense of the sacred divorced from the unifying and ruling thought of God must find satisfaction, as it is doing to-day, in the murky byways of religion among the ghosts that squeak and gibber, and the esoteric mysteries of charlatans.

We have much for which to thank the secular movement. If to-day we look back on the wars of religion, and are grateful that it no longer seems the obvious duty of a religious man to kill or persecute those who differ from him in religion, we have in measure to thank the rationalist movement, the Humes and Voltaires, that stand between those days and ours. We may recognize with rejoicing that the secular movement will destroy with ruthless certainty all religion which is insincere in thought and deed, and that it has already brought about in the world the twilight of the gods. Nevertheless the restless, un-

satisfied spirit of the modern world argues only too plainly that the spirit of man has no resting-place but God.

VII

What comes out of this brief summary of the dealing of the world's religions with the question of the nature of God and His dealing with man ?

First, the extreme importance of the question of personality. It is not a weakness in men that continually, as we have seen, forces to the front the longing for some evidence of personality in the Godhead. Personality is the highest form of being of which men can think at all. The pressure of life upon them is such that they know how sorely they themselves need strength and purity of will and heart, and they cannot be content with a vision of the Supreme Reality which leaves these things out. Personality in man cries out for personality in God, and it is useless to say that this is to make God in man's image. The verdict of the world of men is that either there is personality in God or the whole attempt to find some underlying unity in the world is nonsense.

From another angle of approach we can see the great importance of this matter of personality, which is, of course, the same as the question of the transcendence of God. If there is no reality transcending the world, no Personality in which it takes its origin and to which it looks for its ideal, then there is no escape from a mere acceptance of the actual, for there is no standard by which the actual can be judged. The

practical difference between a pantheism which says "All that exists is God," and that which says "Nothing exists but God," is really nothing at all. In neither case have we any standard by which to live in the world.

Yet the religious quest of man suggests another aspect of the personal nature of reality. Men turn away just as much from bare transcendence as they want to rise above mere immanence. If the doctrine Brahman is not a true account of reality, neither is Allah. If the Bhakti cults arise to correct the one, so do the mystics of Islam to correct the other. We have quoted remarks of non-Christian thinkers which show how little attraction there is in the idea of "a personal God," when that is taken to mean the rule of an external potentate. We have seen the modern mind of the West full of the study of science, and willing at least to find God in some sense in the cosmic process, rejecting the idea of personality in God as meaning nothing but the rule of an arbitrary power. We have read of the Chinese thought of the *Tao*, or Way, immanent in the world, of the Buddhist's thought of the divine Law, in which the world subsists, of the Hindu conviction that in the Divine we live and move and have our being. In the face of all this it is useless to speak of "a personal God," unless we mean by that a Personality which is both immanent and transcendent, both in the world as its Life, and beyond it as its Maker and Judge.

The second thing which emerges is that it is necessary to deal sincerely with the fact of sin. This may seem a surprising reflection to base upon the study of

religions, most of which have misconceived or evaded this question or appear unaware of its existence. Certainly one would not infer from a purely inductive examination of the world's religions that sin was the chief fact in the relations of man with God. Yet it is so. On such matters we take the verdict not of the commonalty but of the saints. There is no religion where signs are not discernible that the noblest spirits are aware of the burden of sin, and understand that freedom from sin and power to live in holiness are essential demands to be made of religion. The more truly the character of God is discerned, the more sincerely is sin faced. Only as He disappears in the mists of pantheism do good and evil in the human heart come to sound the same.

It is therefore a cardinal point in religion, if it is to satisfy the deepest needs of man—if, in short, it is to be religion—that it shall face the fact of sin, and shall contain a doctrine of God and of His dealing with sin.

The third point which arises in this survey is the importance of the historical. The incarnations and *Bodhisattvas* of Asia testify to man's desire to find in God the character of redeeming love. But, as we have more than once been reminded, these stories, beautiful as they unquestionably are, still lack in this, that they are only legends. They are not history.

Does it matter? Is it not enough that men should have right ideas, even if the stories through which they get these ideas are—just stories? Suppose that the Buddha were to be proved by some Professor Dryasdust to be a sun-myth,[1] would that make any

[1] I recognize that this particular fad is somewhat *démodé*.—W. P.

difference to the fact that it is good to be compassionate ? No, it would not, though we may doubt whether several millions of humanity would ever have had compassion made so attractive to them as it was made by the Buddha. But it is different when a man reads the story of a divine being, as Amitabha, who gave up his glory for the sake of men. Either this is true or it is not true ; if it is not true the " idea " of it has no value except an æsthetic value ; it is of no value to men who want to believe in a God like that. Or rather, should we say that its value lies in its testimony to the yet unknown Reality ?

But experience shows that the thinking mind will turn away from these stories in its search for truth, and will have recourse to the only other way open to it, the way of reflective pantheism which leaves personality aside. And then the circle begins again.

Is there, then, anywhere in the world to be found a Person, surely manifest in history, perfectly and worthily revealing the nature of God ? Is there any story of how God deals with sin—a story that man can believe ?

CHAPTER II

THE SEARCH FOR POWER

I

If we could "listen in" to a group of Indians, Chinese, Japanese, British, Germans, and Americans exchanging ideas frankly as to what they really wanted for their countries, we should find a singular unanimity in their desires. They would all want to see war abolished; they would all deplore such moral evils as drunkenness, or the traffic in vice. They would all believe in education, as modern and as widely diffused as possible. They would probably all believe in democracy in some sense, and would unite in desiring the establishment of freedom, both social and political. What has recently been said of the Japanese could be said of all of them, that they "want life, and all that makes life full and interesting. . . . The vast majority of Buddhists with whom the Christian worker in Japan will have to deal are people who want of life very much what present-day Americans and Europeans want of life, and they want these things on terms of equality with Americans and Europeans." [1]

Not only is there something like a common agreement among the different peoples as to what they consider to be good in life, but there is a violent

[1] Dr Reischauer, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 220.

conflict between the new type of endeavour and the older moral and religious traditions in the different countries. An examination of this conflict will result in some interesting discoveries.

II

Old India (that is, Hindu India) had a quite distinctive and in many ways a very beautiful moral ideal. We may instance three elements in it. No figure is so typical of the old Hindu outlook on life as the *sannyasi* (the man who has renounced the world). Rudyard Kipling's story of Sir Prithi Ram, the member of the Viceroy's Council who sets aside the trappings of office and appears suddenly in the garb of the *sannyasi*, is perfectly true to something deep down in Hinduism. Much of Mr Gandhi's amazing influence over his fellow-countrymen is due to the fact that he appears as one who, while engaged about the world's affairs, yet lives in the spirit of one who has renounced the world. We may think the *sannyasi* ideal somewhat negative, but we cannot be blind to the fact that here is an ideal which through many generations has held before India the dignity of a life in which earthly goods are counted as nothing in comparison with the knowledge of the divine.

Again, Hinduism has something to say not only to the ascetic, but also to those who are still living in the life of the world. There is nothing more characteristic of Indian life at its best than the ideal of the Hindu wife, compact of fidelity, gentleness, care for her household, and religious devotion, her heart " still

untainted by the growing secularism." [1] However inferior be the place which the sacred books assign to woman, none can gainsay the high ideal of wifely devotion which Hinduism in practice instils.

The third element which is obvious in the Hindu moral character is that spirit of gentleness and compassion which arises from the doctrine of *ahimsa* (non-killing). It is the existence of this ideal in India which more than any other one thing leads so many Indians nowadays to claim that Jesus Christ would be at home in India. It is a virtue that suits well the Hindu religious ideal of quiescence and release.

Each of these three moral ideas, with the good as well as the defects that it contains, springs directly out of the Hindu religion. The *sannyasi* is born of the desire to escape from the world of illusion into the realization of identity with the supreme Life. The Hindu wife finds her character set forth in such models as Sita in the sacred poems; *ahimsa*, respect for life, is linked closely with the dogma of the sanctity of the cow.

The other great moral fact of Hinduism is the system of caste. Like the moral ideas just mentioned, caste is a fruit of the Hindu religion, is, indeed, its social expression. It is, however, scarcely possible to speak of caste in terms of admiration. It is an immensely powerful system which has kept the Hindu people together under all the disintegrating influences that centuries of invasion and foreign rule have let loose upon them. These merits, however, belong to the past. It is really impossible to defend a system

[1] Miss Tara N. Tilak, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 384.

which, taken in any serious sense, means that a man's place in life is fixed for him by the *karma* [1] handed on from previous lives. Modern Indians do not hesitate to break the caste regulations against dining with those of other castes, and even inter-marriage between castes is becoming, if not frequent, at least a practical possibility. The condemnation of the outcastes to a life of incredible degradation is seen by the best Hindus, led by Mr Gandhi, as a foul blot upon the fair name of India. There are, it is true, attempts to defend caste by re-interpreting it in an idealized sense. These attempts spring partly from the Nationalist unwillingness to admit that so ancient and essentially Indian a system can be wrong, and partly from the very natural feeling that the social arrangements of western industrialized society are hardly an example to be copied. Nevertheless, caste, as the Brahmo Somaj long ago perceived, is hopeless, and must sooner or later be abandoned.

The same forces, however, that are disintegrating caste are playing upon the whole moral system of Hinduism, and the effects are both good and bad. Nothing is plainer in modern India than the realization on the part of the most patriotic Indians that the country needs a reinforcement of its moral energies. "Dr Rabindranath Tagore describes the patient, unambitious mood of mind that he finds to be so prevalent in India as 'the Sudra habit,' and declares that 'under its oppressive burden groans the Hindu, bowed in subjection.'" [2] This is very widely felt, and

[1] See page 32.
[2] Dr Macnicol, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 21.

men wish to recover energy and initiative to cast off the burden of their lethargy. "What the Brahmans want now is not so much *Bhagavad-gita* as biceps," remarked a young Indian in Madras to the writer. It is solemnly suggested that the eating of beef will tone up the Hindu moral system.

Setting aside such follies, we may still ask what Hinduism can do for men who are genuinely seeking new sources of moral and personal energy. The conflict between the old and the new is inevitable. Can the *advaita* doctrine, the thought of the identity of the soul with Brahman, supply the motive that is needed? It is urged by some Hindus to-day that this doctrine supplies the great incentive to social service, inasmuch as it tells a man that he is one with his neighbour. We are told that the knowledge of your identity with your neighbour is as sound a basis of social ethics as the injunction to love him. But can the activities of a strong and loving personality be founded on the belief that personality is an illusion? Must not the negation of personality continue to bear its own fruits? It is interesting to see how some of those Indians who have most vigorously identified themselves with the cause of social service, and have borne the burden of hard work at unpopular tasks, are men who have virtually set aside religion of every kind as mere futility and superstition.

There is a very real danger that through this new spirit the sanctions of religion may be extensively abandoned. The old Hindu civilization unquestionably enshrined much beauty and virtue, and men are saying to one another that these things are being

endangered in modern India. The question they ask is this : Can the power and resolution needed in India to-day be united with the old gentleness and the old belief that in the end it is not the good things of this world that count ?

III

We find something of the same struggle between old religious standards and modern needs in Japan. The rise of Japan has long been recognized as the dominating factor in the modern history of the East. No country in the world is characterized by a more determined national temper, or by more intense patriotic feeling in the individual. Japan is faced by some of the most difficult problems in the world, with her growing population, her lack of natural resources, and the hostility of the white world towards her emigrants. She has shown remarkable determination in achieving national literacy, in adopting the machinery of government as well as the armaments of the West, and in the presence of great national disasters, such as flood and earthquake, she has shown the highest courage.

We remember that Japan is Buddhist, and it is impossible not to feel something of a contrast between the kind of life which Japan clearly desires, and the moral outlook of the Buddha. The stories and sacred books of Buddhism are full of a genuinely beautiful moral teaching. Hatred is to be overcome by love ; temperance, charity, compassion, are held up to admiration ; the love of riches is condemned ; purity

of word and life, self-control and meekness are taught not only as general truths, but in stories and parables full of homely point and cogency. One aspect of the Buddha's teaching appeals especially to those in Buddhist countries who are most alive to the importance of world peace. "Since the days of the world war there has been a growing feeling that Christianity, possibly because of its insistence on the rights of the individual and the value of the human personality, inculcates characteristics which lead to self-assertion and to aggression in national life which is the root of all wars, while the Buddha's life-denying ideal and emphasis on the milder virtues works towards the pacifist ideal, and so is more favourable for a higher civilization." [1]

There are, however, two difficulties about the Buddhist morality from the point of view of the modern world. The first is that while the Buddhist system has its rules for the layman or householder, the higher life is held to be that of the monk. A young Sinhalese Buddhist, in a sketch by Mrs Rhys Davids, tells sadly how the monks were always speaking of the better way of the men who are monks, and confesses that he does not know the monks' world, and does not love their life, for he feels they teach and preach mainly about themselves. "They tell us our Buddha did not think so much of the laity as of the monks. Sometimes I wonder whether this can be true. Did he not really care so much for us, whose work supports the monk, as well as the old parents and the little children?" [2]

[1] Dr Reischauer, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 204.
[2] Quoted in *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 143.

The other defect is more fundamental, and it is much the same as that which is felt in India. Can Nirvana supply the basis on which moral personality can be built up? Either the human character has a value and is worth developing, or it has not. Buddhism in China and Japan has clearly accepted the optimistic view of the world held by the people of those countries. There are still Chinese and Japanese Buddhists who look on human life in some such way as the Buddha did, and who desire most of all the calm of quieted desire and release from the blind struggle of human life. Yet it appears that the vast majority of Buddhists in these lands want from religion help in securing for them a richer life in this world.

Japan and China, and in a lesser degree Burma and Ceylon, are in the tide of the world movements of the day. They owe an immense debt to Buddhism in the past, for it is through Buddhist channels that they have gained most of their civilization. Only time can show whether the realization of this debt will enable Buddhism to continue as a kind of vague formula, within which are found moral ideas quite alien to Buddhism, or whether with the increasing stress of national need the search for the springs of character will lead men and women elsewhere.

IV

The situation in China is somewhat different. No nation has given more consistent thought to the problems of social morality than have the Chinese. They may be said to have specialized in the mutual

relations of mankind. Confucius himself was more of a political philosopher and expositor of social morality than a religious prophet. He turned men's thoughts to the relations which should exist between different classes of mankind, between husband and wife, son and father, ruler and subject, friend and friend. He cared about the stability of society, about trustworthy leadership and the subordination of individual ambition to the good of society. His teaching sums up, we may suppose, that moral attitude which the Chinese people had developed in the course of the centuries — moderation and benevolence, a sense of propriety, a desire to be at one with nature, nature itself conceived as obeying a moral law. Moreover, Chinese as the system is, Confucius has room for the principle of world brotherhood, and modern Chinese who are thinking out the problems of China in a new world are in some cases, at least, turning to this principle of his.

It is a singularly strong moral type that confronts us in China, and it is at first sight a somewhat astonishing thing that able and discerning Chinese are convinced that it is in danger of dissolution. We find a Confucianist asking Christian missions to come to the aid of Confucianism, and to "save the wreckage of the oldest human civilization from the ravages of a cruel and senseless nihilistic revolution, that respects neither man nor God." [1]

Why is this? Perhaps the reasons are too complex to be readily summed up, but some things are plain. The anthropologist is continually reminding

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 78.

us that the morals of a people are a part of its social structure, and that social institutions and morality go hand in hand. When a revolution shakes the foundations of society, and a remodelling of national institutions begins, there is likely to be a corresponding change in the moral ideas of the people. This change will be great just in proportion as the popular morality is an almost unconscious national possession not clearly conceived of as a part of religious faith.

This is what we see happening in China. The tremendous national movement through which she is passing, which is no mere affair of eighteen months' revolution, but is the steady working out of the principles of that democratic uprising which overthrew the Manchus, is shaking Chinese life to its foundations. In such a time everything is questioned. New social problems emerge with the development of industrialism, and eager spirits turn to Communism as a solution. The powerful family consciousness tends to yield to more vigorous individualism, and we find the most extreme theories of sexual morality being bandied about as the latest fruit of western culture. The worship of the gods and all the old religion is discredited. "The educated man who knows his duties and rights has no need of religion," [1] says the educated secularist.

The Chinese national morality has been a powerful thing just because it has expressed the genius of the Chinese people. It suggests the kind of morality developed by a powerful race with a natural genius

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 107.

for living together, moving on by its own momentum amid a range of moral issues and moral duties to which it has been accustomed for millenniums. But now China is moving into a new world, and her leaders, with all their spirit and resolution, are facing new problems and finding that the old standards of judgment and familiar values afford only imperfect guidance.

If we seek the reason for this breakdown of the old morality we shall find it in its insecure basis in religion. Confucianism has taught that man turns as easily to goodness as water runs downhill. It has not wrestled with the problem of sin and of the evil will. Neither has it been able to found moral conduct on the will and mind of God, but rather on an impersonal harmony of nature, in which man may share. Such a system of moral ideals depends really for its strength upon immemorial national habit ; and in the vast change that has now come upon China it must necessarily be shaken to its foundations.

Some of the younger Chinese Christian leaders urge definitely that it is to Christianity that the traditional Chinese morality must look if it is to survive : " Christianity will give Confucian morality a new soul." [1] Confucian morality, in danger of dying as mere tradition and custom, would become a new thing when founded on the Christian thought of God and illuminated by the conception of personal fellowship with Christ. This is the call of the young Chinese Christians to-day, and it is their considered reply to the Confucianists who cry out in alarm for the civilization of their people.

[1] Dr Francis Wei, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 358.

V

In Islam, however, the most dramatic struggle in the realm of morals is to be observed. Islam is an extraordinarily definite religion, and has produced a definite moral type. A dealer in epigrams once remarked that "The Turks were people with a genius for monotheism and for fighting in entrenchments." One of the fruits of Islam has been that stubborn, durable patience and fortitude which comes of submission to the absolute will of Allah.

The centre, however, of the moral life of the Moslem world is to be found in Mohammed, and in no other. The Prophet and his book are the moral guide and standard for Moslems everywhere. It is a curious thing that while "Christianity, which regarded its Founder as divine, never preserved, much less invented, minutiæ concerning His daily life, and so was saved from enslaving itself to a new system of law; Islam, the very religion which arose to protest against the excessive esteeming of any man, ended by binding itself hand and foot and for all generations to one man's dictation, in both private and public life." [1] A Moslem paper in Lahore some time ago solemnly discussed the question whether good Moslems ought to wear beards, and decided that they should do so on the ground that the Prophet was bearded.

Moslems have been faithful to Mohammed, and in him have been united; there is a genuine brotherhood among them. It is true that the brotherhood is limited to Moslems, but within that limit it is a

[1] Canon Gairdner, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 248.

real brotherhood, unquestionably more real than that which exists among Christians of different nations and races. Nothing in Islam should give occasion for more searching of heart among Christians than this fact of the world-wide Islamic brotherhood.

Against this Mohammed-centred morality, both for the individual and for the nation, there is to-day a widespread revolt in the Moslem world. It is in part the consequence of the spread of higher education in certain of the great cities of the Near East ; still more is it the effect of the great world events which have swept Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Palestine into contact with the rest of mankind. Nationalism in Turkey or in Egypt produces in the keenest young men and women a desire to make their country strong, and turns their gaze with terrible intensity upon the weaker elements in national and social life. So we find Angora deposing Islam from the position of State religion in Turkey, and introducing social customs and ideas from outside the Moslem world. Polygamy cannot stand the new scrutiny ; the veil goes ; the ancient Moslem learning in El Azhar University of Cairo becomes the butt of ridicule. The countries of the Near East are no longer content to be tied to the standards of seventh-century Arabia.

There is, however, more in the changing world of Islam than impatience of an antiquated legalistic system. There are the beginnings of moral criticism of the character of Mohammed. So great is the position of Mohammed in the Islamic world that it is natural to find this dissatisfaction expressed mainly, but not solely, in the form of an idealization of the

Prophet. He is being saved to the faithful by being transformed. We can be quite sure that as the critical process spreads, applied as it now is to the Koran and to the books of tradition as well as to social custom, it will not permanently gloss over the moral deficiencies of Mohammed. Defects which may be interpreted easily enough against the background of the life of an Arab leader stand out glaringly when he is elevated to the rank of a moral guide for mankind.

The future of Islam and of the moral development of Islamic society is therefore a matter of great interest and concern to the world. Turkish example, so far as it may be taken to count, is undoubtedly to-day in favour of the complete secularization of society. Mustafa Kemal Pasha wants an efficient, strong, and self-contained Turkish state, and does not intend to allow tradition, either in alphabets or in religion, to restrain him. Out of the welter of change it seems that one of two things may come. Orthodox Islam may cling to the perfect Mohammed, the all-but-divine mediator of God to man. In that case nothing can prevent the forces of modern life from making agnosticism the only possible position for educated Moslems. On the other hand, Islam may develop into a vague unitarianism, offering men a simple faith in one God, without theological complications, and with a moral demand nicely calculated to treat them indulgently at those places, for instance in the matter of sex relationships, where morality is apt to press a little hard. But can a religion so deeply coloured by the personality of one man divest itself of its dependence on that man and still survive ?

VI

The moral conflicts and perplexities which we have surveyed are, it is to be remembered, found chiefly among the educated classes, those, that is to say, to whom the influences of modern life and thought have become real. There are millions of mankind still living in the old ways and knowing nothing of these things, though in every centre where industrialism has grown up, the poorest coolie is subject in his own way to the same forces of change that have reshaped the life of the scholar or politician. We shall not be far wrong, however, if we regard the classes which are now most sensitive to change as representing the mass mind of the future, though themselves a minority in the present.

There are three points that present themselves forcibly to us as we look out upon this mass of changing life. In the first place, the people of all nations want strength. Not only do they want the sort of strength which, often too truly, they think the West alone understands, namely, military force ; they want moral strength. Nor can we wonder at it. We in the West speak of our post-war problems. Few people who have had no first-hand experience beyond the Anglo-Saxon world can imagine the far greater difficulty and complexity of the national issues that face the younger educated men and women of the East. Think of what it means to undertake the spread of national education, of public health, the banishment of corruption from military and civil administration, the development of communications, and all the other

tasks that await China, when the country has only just ceased to be torn by civil strife, and is surrounded by nations whose records in the past do not entitle them to be regarded as unquestioned friends : all this, too, in a country extending over a vast area and containing a quarter of the human race. Think of Japan, with a rapidly increasing population pressing upon the means of subsistence, emigration barred to her, and intensive industrialism with all its agonies the only way out. Think of India, struggling both for self-government and for internal unity, with the terrible poverty of her masses and the still powerful hold of ancient custom throttling the young idealist. Think of a country like Turkey, arising out of the dust of defeat to form out of her ruins a strong nation. We can understand why it is that men and women who love their country turn this way and that in search of the foundations of moral power.

Further, we find that men want principles that can be interpreted and followed, not fixed rules that must be obeyed in the spirit of law. True morality must always be a thing of the spirit, not of the letter. The world's life is changing so rapidly that it is more than ever necessary that the ends of life shall be thought of as principles to be interpreted and expanded, not as rigid rules. Mrs Rhys Davids's young Sinhalese laments that the monks " have nothing to teach us about the bigger things we are up against now—the other races, the empire, world duties—world duties where there are no monks." [1] The Islamic countries are chafing under the dead hand of the Koranic law.

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 141.

They find the morals and social practice of the Arabia of Mohammed insufficient as a guide in the modern world. It is principles that are wanted—above all a spirit which will guide as conditions change.

Thirdly, we can see the anxiety with which the finer spirits behold the ravages made by the baser side of the modern world movement. Secularism means good things, such as a devotion to education and to scientific truth. It means also, too often, the cult of money, the reliance upon machines to redeem the world, a scorn of all that is old, a contempt for the spiritual. There is a modern slogan in China, " Science and Socialism can save the State." Forces of this kind must necessarily destroy the beauty of the ancient civilizations. But it can never be enough to trust to sentiment or to the appreciation of old tradition to succour these threatened treasures of ancient grace. The religious or intellectual basis, on which in the last resort the old order depended, is being eaten away by the tide. It is for this reason that the appeal comes to Christians to aid in salving the old civilizations.

It can never be assumed that what is good must live and cannot be destroyed. It can be destroyed, and we see the destruction going on all around us. We may be sure that the religions of the world to-day, faced by the secular movement at its best as well as at its worst, will crumble away wherever they have substituted phantasy for fact, fallen below the best witness of men's own consciences, deluded men's minds with fables, turned them away from truth, and denied

to personality the rights that it owns. When they crumble they will take with them what is good, unless this element can be taken up into some religion that is able, because it is true, to survive the relentless testing of modern thought and modern life.

VII

Here we might end this chapter were it not that, in pointing forward to the Christian religious and moral answer to the world's search, it might seem to be suggested that all is well with the West. On the contrary, the moral confusion of the countries of the West is little if any less than that of the East. It is indeed a fundamental fact of the modern world that the secularism which is engulfing the religions of the East has its origins in the West, and has built up its strength there.

We may take some instances of this confusion. In no department of morals is the mind of Europe and of our own country more confused than in the matter of the sexual ethic. The multitudes of the younger generation have awakened to the fact that the morality they had been obeying had for them only the force of convention, and with the disappearance of the conventions the morality also disappeared. On some of the most vital questions in the sex ethic the mind of the Church itself is acutely divided.

In our own country the tremendous pressure of post-war economic problems, and the grave outlook which unquestionably confronts the country's economic life, while it is providing a powerful incentive to thought

by some of the ablest minds, is at the same time producing a kind of numbness and hopelessness among very many. It is at one and the same time true that the Christian social conscience is more awake than ever before, and that economic determinism, and the temper of mind which regards with fatalistic resignation the operation of economic forces, were never more prevalent.

The mind of Europe is convinced of the horror of war, and the statesmen have signed a pact for the renunciation of war. Yet war and the fear of war is in the minds of all thoughtful men, and it is difficult not to feel that Europe has lost the power to cast the poison out of its system.

Meanwhile faith in Jesus Christ, to which later we shall turn in the endeavour to commend it as the sole hope for the world, is regarded by many enlightened men as a poor tame thing, to be kept within its appointed bounds. A Bishop, making in public a comment on foreign policy which had already occurred to multitudes of his thoughtful countrymen, is publicly reproved in language which suggests the famous remark of Lord Melbourne, " Things have come to a pretty pass when religion interferes with a man's private life ! "

Doubtless it is the fault of Christians that they are so lightly regarded. We may, however, be sure that if the Christian religion were only what it is thought to be by many educated Europeans it would have no more right to claim to be an answer to the world's need, or to reveal the sources of the power which the world seeks, than the crumbling ethnic faiths of Asia.

Christian men and women in Britain need not only to look in compassion upon the problems of the changing East ; they need to bestir themselves to an altogether more radical thinking about their religion, and an altogether more passionate following of it, if they are to lend verisimilitude to the claims they make for their Master.

CHAPTER III

"LORD AND CHRIST"

"In this world, bewildered and groping for its way, Jesus Christ has drawn to Himself the attention and admiration of mankind as never before. He stands before men as plainly greater than the Christianity that the world has come to know. Many who have not hitherto been won to His Church yet find in Him their hero and their ideal. . . . Against this background and in relation to it we have to proclaim our message. Our message is Jesus Christ."

Jerusalem Meeting Report, Vol. I.; *The Christian Message*, p. 479.

I

"Our message is Jesus Christ." . . . We believe that the long search of mankind for God, so inadequately suggested in the two preceding chapters, and the bewilderment of the modern and largely secular world, alike find their fulfilment and their succour in Him. The answer of Christians to the world's questioning must always be this — not the answer of a theory or a formula, not the attempt to convey general truths, but the lifting up of a Person, the Person of Jesus. Twenty centuries of experience agree in this. Irenæus in the second century and Sadhu Sundar Singh in the twentieth agree when they express their sense of the uniqueness of Christ. "When the former was asked by followers of Marcion, 'What new thing did Jesus bring?' he

answered: 'He brought all that was new in bringing Himself.' And when a Hindu professor of philosophy asked the Christian Sadhu: . . . 'What have you found in Christianity which you did not find in the religions of India?' the reply was: 'I have found Jesus Christ.'" [1]

That serious men and women everywhere, whatever their attitude towards Christianity, are wanting to "see Jesus" is one of the most remarkable facts of our time. Men of letters—Papini, Middleton Murry, Henri Barbusse, Ludwig—are driven by some inner compulsion to write Lives of Jesus; these often contain statements and ideas which are strange or even painful to a Christian; they are subjective, and reveal their authors more than they do Him of whom they write—and yet they exhibit in a very remarkable degree the fascination which the figure of Jesus holds for some of the finest and most sensitive minds of the day.

In Latin America, usually regarded, and with justice, as an outstanding example of a purely secular civilization, there is springing up a new interest in Jesus Christ.

Not long ago, in a historic session of the Mexican Congress, when the drastic policy of the Government towards institutional Christianity in Mexico was under discussion, a prominent member of the House and an ardent supporter of the Government's religious policy uttered a glowing panegyric of Jesus, which has been quoted far and wide throughout the American continent. In the course of contrasting Him with much

[1] J. A. Mackay, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., pp. 441-2.

that had been done in His name, he exclaimed: Has the world ever known anything more beautiful, anything more revolutionary than the Gospel of Christ? [1]

Dr A. J. Appasamy tells of a Hindu scholar who has written a life of Christ in beautiful Tamil verse. The most notable fact in modern India is the degree to which the criterion of Jesus Christ is accepted not only in moral and social affairs but in regard to Hinduism itself. It is not unfashionable to declare that Jesus is truly at home in India; attempts are even made to show that He was of Indian race.

The importance of all this lies in the fact that it shows Jesus Christ to be in truth universal. It is not for His disciples to find reasons to convince others of His beauty and worth; it seems that the world is already much more interested in the fact of Jesus than in anything that His followers have to say about Him. There would be something hopeless about preaching to the world a Person who had no drawing power of his own and depended on the energy and inventiveness of his devotees to create a vogue for him. With Jesus, it seems as if the deepest elements in the world's life are moved and cry out as they behold Him; He is able to penetrate where His disciples do not go.

II

"Depart from me, for I am a sinful man," said St Peter once when in a sudden awe he realized his Master.

[1] J. A. Mackay, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 444.

We have seen the end of a type of exposition of the character and teaching of Jesus which, true so far as it went, erred greatly by going not nearly far enough—the type which presents Him as a teacher who walked the fields of Galilee, spoke lovingly to the children, drew lessons from the lilies, and spoke in general terms of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Dr Schweitzer slew this facile and altogether unsatisfying teaching when he recalled us to the fact of the " apocalyptic " in the words of Jesus, the conviction of an approaching consummation of things with all the mystery and awfulness which it lends to His words. The " critics " of the New Testament have been much blamed, but to them we owe that fuller and richer view of the Master which is open to this generation as to none before it. As we study the teaching of Jesus it is amazing to see how in one direction after another it is " extreme " : there are sternness and rigour in His words, as well as an infinity of tenderness. When we consider the universal acceptance of the main lines of His teaching, it is suggestive to think how often we come against the unexpected in His words, as when He accepts the poured-out luxury of the ointment from the alabaster " flask "—" art for art's sake " would be a modern comment on it. He takes the cherished Messianic hope of the Jews that there should come a Messiah in power and glory, and turns it into the immortal message of a suffering Son of God. He strikes penitence into the heart of the Samaritan woman for her loose living, but it is by tenderness. His sternness and biting scorn are kept for the

righteous, who erect the religious principle of "Corban" as a barrier against the performance of plain human duties, or smother the simple beneath a mass of rules that they themselves can hardly keep.

He taught men to love one another, to forgive and to love their enemies, to return good for evil, to be faithful to their wives, and to abstain from covetousness of the flesh and of the spirit. He told them not to kill, to heal the sick, to prefer hardship in the pursuit of good to ease in the acceptance of evil. All this and much more He told them, and it will very truly be said that He told them what other great teachers have told their followers. It is precisely this that makes it plain that there is in Jesus Christ something more than the perfection of a moral ideal.

The figure of Jesus in the Gospels is conspicuous for what some may consider a bar to universality, namely, definiteness and unmistakableness of outline. He was not only Man, He was *a* man. It is suggestive to examine the scattered sayings of Jesus which have come down from sources outside the New Testament. Some of them have the authentic note —"Be wise money-changers," for instance; in others —for example, "In what state I find you, therein I judge you," or "Those who are with me have understood me not"—it may be said that we "catch at least an echo of the voice which spoke the Parables and the Sermon on the Mount." But of the saying found on an archway in North India—"Jesus, on whom be peace, hath said: This world is like a bridge;

pass over it, but make not your dwelling thereon "[1]— surely one is justified in feeling that it does not come from Jesus, beautiful as it is. He was, in short, a character of a singular definiteness, and that is why the world continues to exercise itself about Him, and is not deterred by the statement that many of the elements in His teaching can be paralleled elsewhere.

He has about Him that which Dr Otto calls the "numinous," but it is never the merely terrible or uncanny; it is that majesty which is shown in His infinite hatred of sin and His infinite tenderness to the sinner, which shines in His utter devotion to the will of the Father, which awed the disciples as He set His face to go up to Jerusalem, which strikes us with sudden force in phrases like "to give His life a ransom for many," which hangs about Him as He goes up to the mountain to pray to that Father with whom He had an unbroken communion, and which is supreme as He is nailed to the Cross, broken by the load of human sin, into the knowledge of which He has entered to the uttermost.

III

But objections are raised, either to the morality of Jesus or at least to the validity of any attempt to carry it as a message to other nations and ages beyond those in which He lived.

A strong attempt has been made in the columns of the *Modern Review*, a widely circulated Indian

[1] These instances (and others) appear in E. F. Scott's *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, ch. i.

monthly journal, to show that the Jesus of the Gospels is not worthy of the admiration of Indians, chiefly on the grounds that His words are full of violence and bitterness towards those who disagree with Him, and in particular that He believes in and consigns His enemies to a fiery hell. It is useless, we are told, in the face of this, to preach that in Christ there is found the perfection of love and sacrifice, the incarnation of the spirit which overcomes evil by good. The Hindu scale of moral values sets meekness very high; it is a subtle method of attack to suggest that Jesus, so far from being, as is popularly believed in India, better than the missionaries represent Him, really is much worse. Along with this we may recall the objection felt by some Buddhists to which we have previously referred, that the Christian ethic produces too self-assertive a type and that Buddhism is a sounder foundation for international peace.

It is a common complaint of Moslems that the Christian ethic is unpractical, holding out a moral ideal which it is foolish to expect that men can ever achieve, and is therefore to be condemned as a standard for men living in the world. In particular, strong exception is taken to the injunctions to "turn the other cheek" and "resist not evil." "Jesus takes away the right of self-defence" said a young Moslem to the writer.

These two criticisms cancel one another, but they ought to be noticed; and it may be that the direct opposition between them suggests the truth about them. They are not, of course, peculiar to Hindus or Moslems respectively. Mr Bertrand Russell, in a

somewhat unworthy little book, *Why I am not a Christian*,[1] makes the same points. He makes play with the precepts about turning the other cheek, not resisting evil, not judging, and the rest of the Sermon on the Mount, taking the line that while he personally could go some way with these precepts he is sure that most professing Christians have little use for them.

Mr Russell considers it a blot on Christ's reputation that He believed in a speedy Second Coming and preached a morality dominated by that belief; and he is very sure that Jesus' belief in hell puts Him out of court altogether. "Christ certainly as depicted in the Gospels did believe in everlasting punishment, and one does find repeatedly a vindictive fury against those people who would not listen to his preaching—an attitude which is not uncommon with preachers but which does somewhat detract from superlative excellence." Then there are the familiar objections made to the stories of the Gadarene swine and the barren fig tree. Altogether, Mr Russell cannot feel "that either in the matter of wisdom or in the matter of virtue Christ stands quite as high as some other people known to history. I think I should put Buddha and Socrates above him in those respects."[2]

We have drawn attention to this attack on the ethic of Jesus Christ because, stripped of trivialities, it is a serious attack, and one which causes perplexity to

[1] Mr H. G. Wood's humorous and trenchant reply to Mr Russell (*Why Mr Bertrand Russell is not a Christian*) is a first-rate piece of apologetic. It is well that this type of attack should be taken seriously, for not only would it, if true, gravely affect the Christian claim, but the books themselves are read far outside Europe.

[2] *Why I am not a Christian*, p. 23, etc.

a certain number of Christian people. For a detailed refutation of Mr Russell the reader is referred to Mr Wood's book. There are, however, two main points on which we may listen to one of the greatest Christian minds of the age.

Baron Friedrich von Hügel was one of those who honestly faced all the difficulties that sincere research could put in the way of a full faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ, including both the charge of radical ignorance in the matter of the Second Coming and the charge of immorality in the belief of eternal punishment. The idea of the speedy end of the world and inauguration of the Kingdom he takes to express "a deep and abiding *right* orientation of first-hand and specific spirituality,—which, quite clearly, tends, in proportion to its depth and purity, to conceive all *sub specie æternitatis*, and, inasmuch as time is still considered, to apprehend such time as at hand and instantaneous. If our Lord did not know the date of His Second Coming (and this ignorance He tells us was with Him), then, religious genius that He was, He was bound as such to conceive it as proximate and swift as lightning."[1] That is to say, the *certainty* of the final consummation is stated as if it were the *immediacy* of the final consummation.

Our Lord's words about future punishment he takes "to insist (even though with figures which have led to much materialization and excess of the doctrine) upon a truth much overlooked or denied nowadays, but a truth that will remain." This truth elsewhere he declared to be "the simply abiding significance

[1] F. von Hügel, *Selected Letters*, p. 159.

and effect of our deliberate elections during this our one testing-time," and defends it against the idea of " an indefinite series of chances and purifications with an ultimate disappearance of all difference between the results of the worst life and the best. . . . This doctrine still presents itself as a permanent element of the full religious consciousness. . . . It answers to the deepest postulates and aspirations of the most complete and delicate ethical and spiritual sense." [1]

Any reader of the Gospels [says Mr Wood], who can understand why on one occasion Jesus rebuked the chief of the Apostles with the words " Get thee behind me, Satan," or why He had compassion on the crowd because they seemed as sheep without a shepherd, or why when He drew nigh to the city He wept over it, may be able to understand why He denounced " Blind leaders of the blind," and said so often, " Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." [2]

Socrates and Buddha, whom Mr Russell commends for their " blandness and urbanity," differed in one all-important respect from Jesus of Nazareth. He believed that in Him and His mission on earth God was making a new beginning in the world, and consequently there is both crisis in the situation in which He lives and urgency in His message. There is nothing of this about Socrates or the Buddha. But the life of Jesus is a great Act of God, and He is at grips with evil, breaking down the separatism of Judaism, making free to the world the treasures of the religion of the prophets, consummating in Himself

[1] F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element in Religion*, Vol. II., p. 219.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

the work of God in revelation; and there is a penetration and finality and awfulness about Him in the face of sin which, let us face it frankly, is not found palatable and is readily ignored by a more "urbane" generation.

The same tremendous reality in dealing with sin, which burns in these denunciations of the Pharisees, comes out in the converse sayings, objected to from the other quarter, about the conquest of evil and hate by love and suffering. It takes a strong man—or one made strong by Jesus—to act in the spirit of these sayings. For they rest on the basis of a willingness to suffer to the uttermost to overcome sin, and of an unconquerable belief in the power of love. That which is supremely exemplified in the Cross is at least not an ethic of weakness. It is not, indeed, the kind of ethic the boast of which is that it is practical and adapted to the weakness and passions of men. All the moral teachings of Jesus are demands for perfection; we shall come later to the question of the power in which this startling ethic is to be obeyed and fulfilled.

On one other important line the adequacy of the moral teaching of Jesus is impugned:

> To the Chinese scholar Jesus appears too much in the light of a localized Jewish prophet, speaking in peasant terms rather than as one who realizes the complicated problems of a large state.[1]

Similarly we are reminded by Moslems, and others, that He was unmarried, and so lacks something necessary to the guidance of those facing certain

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 113.

of life's difficulties. It is clear that this is an argument against any "universal" moral teacher at all, for it can equally well be argued that a married prophet like Mohammed would be unable to comprehend the problems of the celibate, a statesman (like Moses or Isaiah) unable to say anything to the peasant life of the world, and indeed that a universal morality could only proceed from someone who had both experienced, *and not experienced*, every possible experience. Which is absurd. It is on other lines that the permanent and universal validity of the teaching of Jesus is to be defended, and not on the ground that He had the particular kind of earthly experience which chimes with the need of each of us.

Not only was Jesus bounded by the outlook of His age, but, so far as we have evidence, even the wider outlook of that age was scarcely accessible to Him. But He laid down principles which have been proved for two thousand years ever capable of new application. Problems which could not have occurred to the minds of any living in that age have been solved by reference to the principles of Jesus. His rules have an infinite capacity for unfolding themselves; new discovery only vindicates their wisdom.

He is concerned always with the underlying and permanent needs of human life. "It was in one way an advantage that His lot was cast in a simple society ignorant of the many complications in which life has since been involved. He spoke to men who worked with their own hands for to-morrow's bread, who were in constant intercourse with neighbours whom they could directly help or injure, who spent their

days in the open fields and were limited to the common round of human experience. His attention was thus concentrated on the unchanging elements out of which our life is woven, and which are often disguised from us amidst the intricacies and refinements of our modern world. . . . That apparent narrowness of interest which has often been urged against Him as His defect was really His greatness. With a sure instinct He pierced through all that belongs to the circumference of life and went straight to the centre. The things that occupied Him were those which touch our humanity in its very substance and in its great abiding relations." [1]

IV

Does the world's religious search find an answer in the Person, teaching, and work of Jesus? If what the world needs is the lifting up of a Personality, truly and perfectly revealing God and helping man as a Saviour in his struggle with sin,—if against its own intellectual findings it still longs to believe that Reality has within it that which welcomes and answers the human personality in its aspirations—then what has Jesus to say to this? It cannot be conceived that the Christian religion would have spread all over the world unless it had an answer to these questions.

"'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people.' It would not be fantastic to say that the first verse of Zachariah's hymn contains the whole distinctive element of the

[1] E. F. Scott, *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, p. 127.

Gospel." [1] The teaching of Jesus is not only full of God, but it is full of the thought of a God who is active in the world, who "does things." The word that He used to describe God was "Father," and only our extreme familiarity with the word enables us to forget how difficult it is to call God "Father" unless one believes that there is in Him some centre of will and purpose, that He is one who answers our cry when we call to Him. In this, Jesus is fulfilling and completing the thought of the prophets of the Hebrew people, with their magnificent insistence upon the righteous Will of God. God to Him is Father, Holy, Loving, Almighty. Perhaps there is nothing in the whole New Testament which speaks so eloquently of the mind of Jesus about His Father as the preservation of the little Aramaic word *Abba* in the Greek of the Gospels. Was it the way He said "Abba" in the garden of Gethsemane that rooted the memory in the minds of the disciples who saw and heard Him there? It stayed with them, and one who learnt from them is able to speak of the spirit of adoption whereby we cry "*Abba*, Father." That is how Christians think of God; they are members of the family which can say "*Abba*, Father."

This conception of holy, loving Will stands in clear contrast with the Hindu or Buddhist ideas of impersonal reality. But we must not think that there is anything specially "western" about the belief in God as will in contrast with the belief in Him as static being; many western thinkers, ancient and modern, have taken the latter view. The plain truth is that

[1] Dr Temple, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 463.

it was the Hebrew prophets who taught us to think thus of God, and that to obey His will is man's true freedom.

But this will is a Father's will, it is Love. It is hard to say which of the two ideas is the more foreign to the New Testament—the thought of God as impersonal being, or the thought of Him as unqualified absolute might. Islam has paid the penalty of worshipping unqualified might, in a fundamental agnosticism which has found its own relief in mysticism. The omnipotence of God is shown supremely in moral ways; all things are possible to Him save what would contradict His own nature of love, and the Cross (to which we shall return later) is the sign not of defeat but of victory. Canon Gairdner says, "Christianity must insist upon God's desire for man's co-operation in reclaiming the waste places of this world. The Sacrifice on the Cross, His 'O Jerusalem! Jerusalem!' His rebuke to Peter in the garden, nay, a hundred truths, have taught the Christian what his Moslem brother does not know, that God appeals to man's love but does not compel His obedience; that He seeks communion with man which shall be by man freely given." [1]

We do not, however, reach the fullness of the Christian thought about God until we include with the teaching of Jesus the effect of His own personality upon His friends, and of His Spirit upon Christians throughout the ages. There was in Jesus Himself, in His earthly life in Palestine, an intimacy and completeness of communion with the Father, an identity

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 262.

of will and heart so perfect, that men found God in Him. " He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also," says Jesus in the fourth Gospel. To St Paul Christ is the " fullness of the Godhead bodily," He is " the express image of His Person." Within the bounds of humanity, sharing our human lot of weakness and ignorance, He reveals the heart and mind and will of the Father.

If God is holy and loving Will, and is to be known in His mighty acts, then the supreme Act whereby He reveals Himself to men is His self-giving in Jesus. He has bowed down to meet us in the Son. The atmosphere in which men came to find God in Jesus was not conducive to such a thought : the Jews were jealous in the extreme degree of anything that might derogate from the majesty of the one God. Yet we find Christians from the beginning using to describe Jesus the word *Kyrios* (Lord), which was used in the Greek Old Testament for God. These words and phrases bubbled up out of a compelling experience. The first preaching uses strange, improvised language —" the Pioneer of Life," for instance—to express what it knows that Jesus means, and that meaning is, as Peter put it in the sermon on the Day of Pentecost, " This Jesus, whom ye crucified, God hath made both Lord and Christ."

V

" Whom ye crucified." That was and is the supremely revealing part of the supremely revealing life.

Dr Otto referred in one of the Jerusalem meetings

to the fact that "the Hindu religion lacked the Christian idea that men are apart from God in an ethical sense." This is indeed a Christian idea, but it is one which is widely shirked and evaded. One of the things that happens to a man when he gets face to face with Jesus Christ is that he begins to feel uneasy about his moral life. It is desperately easy just to leave the whole thought of sin and what is to be done about it, to take refuge in the thought that what is "natural" cannot be wrong, and to slip into a contented acceptance of the contemporary standards of respectability. Then there comes a glimpse of Jesus, and we feel with Peter, "I am a sinful man, O Lord." What Isaiah felt in the temple in the presence of the Most High, that men feel in the presence of Christ; it is one of the reasons why they have come to identify Him with God.

When once a man has begun to be honest with himself about his sinfulness, then he knows that he needs more than his own native power of resolution to conquer it. But he knows something deeper and truer even than that. He knows what being "apart from God" means, and he knows that the barrier that sin makes between God and himself is the sorest thing about sin, and that he cannot throw it down himself, no, not by any austerity or labour or sacrifice. Only God, coming to the human soul in love and mercy, can do that.

This is what myriads of men and women have found in the Cross. They have seen that Figure, perfect love and perfect goodness, suffering a death of shame at the hands of those to whom His very heart

had gone out during the days of His ministry. They have seen One, in whom they have learnt to see in some measure the face of God and through whom they can understand God better than they ever could apart from Him, accepting the fruits of the sin of others and doing so with an unquenchable love in His heart. Out of the agony and the love there comes to them the message that this is not one of the world's uncounted tragedies, but the voice of God speaking to the sinner, and, just at the moment when the horror of sin is greatest, making real the divine forgiveness. John Bunyan conveys this knowledge of release and freedom in his immortal allegory :

Up this way, therefore, did burdened Christian run, but not without great difficulty, because of the load on his back. He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending ; and upon that place stood a Cross, and a little below, in the bottom, a Sepulchre. So I saw in my dream, that just as Christian came up with the Cross, his burden loosed from off his shoulders, and fell from off his back, and began to tumble ; and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of the Sepulchre, where it fell in, and I saw it no more. Then was Christian glad and lightsome, and said with a merry heart, He hath given me rest by His sorrow and life by His death. Then he stood still a while to look and wonder.

It has been said that " there is no intellectual solution of the problem of evil. There is a practical solution wherever evil is confessed as sin and embraced as suffering." [1] But this is the only solution that matters, and it is vital to the whole claim of Chris-

[1] A. C. Turner, *Concerning Prayer.*

tianity to be both wisdom and power. We have seen the Hindu and Buddhist sages giving up as hopeless the world with its personal life, its sin and moral difficulty, and finding reality in a sphere where these things have ceased to be. Christianity solves the problem in another way, by making it possible for men to overcome sin and enter into fellowship with the Father. So the Cross is not only the power of God, it is also the wisdom of God.

This is the crucial issue of religion, and by their attitude to it religions must be judged. How shall a man conquer the passions of his nature and practise the good that he knows? By the enlightenment of education, observing truly his rights and duties, says the Confucianist. By the disappearance of the self in the realization, "I am That," says the Hindu. By trusting in the saving vow of Amida Buddha, say the most living of the Japanese Buddhists. By submitting to the will of Allah and trusting that He will be compassionate, says the Moslem. By being crucified with Christ, says the Christian.

There are really only three ways. There is the way of intellectual enlightenment—sin is ignorance. There is the way of mystical absorption—sin belongs to the realm of appearance. There is the way of the transformation of the human spirit by the love of God acting upon it—"sin hath no more dominion over me."

VI

We have said something above of the inner nature of the Christian ethic, but there is one element in it,

or rather antecedent to it, which cannot be left undefined even in this short sketch. "We should guard ourselves," it has been said, "against the temerity of thinking that we can copy Jesus. The following of Jesus consists less in attempting to imitate His experience than in submitting ourselves to Him." [1]

Christianity is not the following of a code of rules; not even the imitation from afar off of the gracious figure of the Master. It is no less than the reception of the Spirit of that Master into the heart, so that the inner heart and mind become conformed to His. This is the animating spring of the Christian morality, that keeps it from becoming a mere legalism, that rescues it from stereotyping the customs of a race and a generation and elevating them into moral law, that enables us to find in Christ the moral pattern for a whole society. The moral teaching of Christ has proved itself valid for men of all kinds in all lands for two thousand years, because while "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life"; and men of every age who have companied with Jesus and allowed His spirit to guide them have found in Him the solution of problems that Palestine could not know. Yet the Spirit, the Holy Spirit of God, is the Spirit of Jesus; and that human figure, moving on our plane of time and space, is the norm to which we men and women constantly return, finding in Him the projection of the eternal God into our humanity, and knowing that the spirit which proceeds from Him proceeds from the Father.

[1] Professor Deissmann, quoted in *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 449.

VII

We are now ready to begin the summing up of the argument.

We have found in Jesus Christ one to whom the eyes of humanity are increasingly turned; men cannot get away from the fascination of "that strange man on His Cross." By His graciousness, the depth and height of His teaching, His majesty and suffering, His tenderness and commanding moral grandeur, He holds the world as none other has ever done. He takes us into the presence of God, whom He shows, not only by His words but by Himself, to be Love and Holiness. In His death on the Cross He alone of all who have ever lived in this world transforms the stark horror of sin by making forgiveness real, a forgiveness that is wrought at so great a cost that none can say it is lightly given. He is such a one that those who have given themselves to Him have with joy and gladness called Him the very Son of God.

That the heart of man wants to believe in some one like Jesus we have tried to show; but it cannot believe that such a one can be God and that in Him God can be completely and uniquely revealed. Mr Saunders says of the eastern world that while "its heart proclaims such doctrine (of personality in God and man) in its bhakti-cults, and millions actually worship Sakyamuni and Krishna, its head keeps murmuring *maya* (illusion), *lila* (sport), *upaya* (device of the Teacher)."[1] The personalities that have been worshipped have not been such (even when they

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 162.

were not mythical) as to force men to see personality in God.

It remains, therefore, to ask ourselves whether there is any reason why we should hesitate to say that in Jesus Christ we have the complete and final revelation of God. What of this ancient objection, so modern too?—"Is it thinkable that the infinite God can in any distinctive sense manifest Himself in one individual human life? Can the ocean be expressed in any single wave,

and free Eternity submit to years?[1]"

It is obviously impossible to deal with this great question adequately in the course of this discussion, and we will only attempt to point out the one main line of argument which seems to the writer to be convincing. We must assume that the reader accepts the view that in seeking for a unity, a totality of things, there can be no end to the search except it is in the ascription of the existence of the world to a will. A will seeking something is what all men can understand; nothing in the world but a will is self-explanatory in the sense that to ascribe other things to its action satisfies the mind's search for cause.

If the world is to be ascribed to a will, and only so can the totality of things find its explanation, there is nothing inherently incredible in the idea that such a will should manifest itself. No one questions this: it is the possibility of a unique and universal revelation that is questioned. But the difficulty is largely due to the habit of thinking in terms of space. If we were thinking of reality as something very large

[1] Canon Streeter, *Adventure*, p. 136.

and material, obviously no one piece of it could be taken as a revelation of the whole. But if reality is ultimately a will and purpose, there can be no difficulty in holding that it would naturally be revealed not in *quantity* but in *quality*.

It is true that only a portion of any material substance could be manifested in a particular place or at a particular time. But that is not true of quality, which is the category appropriate to spirit. People sometimes say: How much of God was revealed in Christ? If you believe as a Christian that God was revealed in Christ, how much of Him was revealed? Well, all of Him that is relevant: His love, and His holiness, which is part of His love, are all there. If the love that was in Christ was a perfect love for all men, there is nothing that can make it any greater, for it is already an infinite. You have reached a logical limit, seen to be a limit beyond which it is self-contradictory that you should ask to go; there cannot be more love than absolute self-giving to all.[1]

We hold then that the characteristic or, if we can use the words, the central element in God, His mind and will, can be revealed in one human personality. It can only be in a personality, for nothing else is adequate to express the nature of that which is essentially will and purpose. We do not pretend that God is exhaustively or inclusively revealed. He is *distinctively* revealed in respect of what, looked at in the way of quality, He most essentially is. Definite-

[1] Dr Temple, *The Universality of Christ*, p. 48. In this little book, and at greater length in *Reality* (Canon B. H. Streeter) and *Adventure* (ed. Streeter), the reader will find this argument adequately developed.

ness in outline and character do not detract from the universal value of such a personality ; on the contrary, it will only be possible to consider it as a revelation of the Divine if it is definite in outline. For one thing that we know about will and personality is this, that they are real in proportion to their definiteness. The particular environment in which the personality exhibits its nature is, again, no bar to the adequacy or universality of the revelation. The inner meaning of it will only be seen as it acts upon its environment ; the particular actions will not be of universal import, but the nature of the spirit demonstrated through those actions may well be.

We need not, therefore, find in the fact that our Lord lived in Palestine a life related to the conditions of His time any hindrance to seeing in Him the incarnation, in a special and unique sense, of the Divine.

One more consideration we may adduce, and now we are arguing back from Jesus to the Father.[1] The very heart of Jesus is love. But love is perhaps the only thing in the universe which is not affected by circumstance. It can find its operation anywhere, among all races and persons and in all times. None of us can ever be anywhere or in such circumstances that he cannot show love. Does not this suggest

[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that the kind of conviction this argument carries is drawn from a combination of rational consideration together with submission of oneself to the moral and spiritual realities discussed. We cannot prove that God is love, but we can try, in obedience to those who have found Him to be love, whether He be not love ; and we can discover that that conclusion, while the reason could not give it to us, is nevertheless not disagreeable to the reason.

that the infinite Spirit, which must be universal in its nature, is a spirit of love ?

We urge, then, that the Infinite Spirit of Love and Holiness revealed Himself to man in a Man, showing there perfectly—*and because perfectly, finally*—His nature of love. We adore Jesus as Son of God and Son of Man, and seek to preach Him to the world for which He gave Himself.

That such a message is distinctive surely admits of no doubt. We have seen that God is thought of elsewhere not as personality but as impersonal being, or as force, which is only imperfectly a setting forth of personality. We found too that some religions have in some moments reached after the idea of a revealing, sin-bearing, succouring personality, but that they took refuge in myths. Here, in Jesus of Nazareth —in One who beyond question lived on our earth a man's life and died " under Pontius Pilate," as the creeds insist on reminding us—is that ideal realized. We can do more than long to believe that God is such as that. We may verily know it, for " He has visited and redeemed His people."

Looking out on the world in the strength of such a message, we are not surprised to find that there are many signs in other religions of the working of God's Spirit. We honour them all, and we do not laboriously seek to prove that they are due to Christian contacts.

The Christian missionary who finds even in a primitive or possibly corrupt religion points of contact with his own faith is not a relativist or a syncretist, tacking together a muddled theology of patchwork ; rather he is a disciple who knows so clearly Him whom he

has believed, that he can recognize the tokens of His presence in any Nazareth which so-called orthodoxy has despised. . . . How much rather then must the Buddhist's sympathy with the pain of the world, the Hindu's sense of the unchanging stability of the eternal, the Moslem's realization of international comradeship, the Confucian's appreciation of social morality, and . . . the sacrifices of scientific workers in the quest of truth and of human welfare, give to the Christian a fresh revelation of the Light that lighteth every man, and of the Word made flesh.[1]

The ground on which the missionary will base his appeal is not that he has apprehended more fully and is spiritually wiser than his brother. It will simply be that the message is not his but God's, and that he is carrying not the fruit of his own spiritual thought and culture, but the news of the acts of God in the life and death and resurrection of Jesus, acts which are supremely revealing of that Father's mind and heart.

Is not this the answer to the difficulties that so many of the choicest of our modern spirits feel, that it is not possible to hold a belief in a " unique " revelation without falling victim to the sense of superiority ? The whole burden of the message is that God has done something, not we. It is not we who have climbed higher, or shown more virtue, or become more spiritually refined. We have to tell something that God has done. If there is " superiority," it is so manifestly apart altogether from our merits that it should, as Dr Macnicol says, " humble us in the dust." [2]

[1] Canon O. C. Quick, *International Review of Missions*, July 1928.
[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 52.

VIII

He is not only unique, He is universal, and the two conceptions must be held together. It is useless to hold the uniqueness of Jesus Christ in a way which would make Him alien to and unassimilable by the bulk of mankind. We must avoid not only the syncretism of those who would make Him only one of the many aspects of the Divine, but also the separatism of those who dislike the thought of any kinship in the world to Him.

Jesus is both Lord and Christ. He is Lord, the unique, mysterious incarnation of the Godhead, triumphing over evil once for all in His cross, resurrection, and ascension. But He is also Christ, the fulfiller not of Hebrew prophecy alone, but also of every human aspiration after that kingdom of God which is the one true fellowship of men. The Christ is the human Saviour whom men have sought and partially found in the persons of Sakyamuni, Mohammed, Confucius, and many another sage and saint, prophet, and reformer, who has followed and pointed the way towards the one true God. But the Christ is fully found only in One who is more even than the Christ, because His cross is proved to be the very wisdom and power of God Himself.[1]

Let us remember, however, that the universality of Christ is not a matter of geographical expansion only; it is not only over all men that Christians believe His reign should extend, but over all departments of life. Much of this book will be occupied in discussing the bearing of certain of the most pressing of the world's

[1] Canon Quick, *loc. cit.*

problems upon the work of Christian missions. We dare not forget that the revelation of God in Christ is not only for all men, but for all of each man. There are "unoccupied fields" that are not geographical, tracts of human life and experience where Christians are only beginning to learn that Christ has a word for them.

In conclusion, let us look once more at the modern world, and consider whether some of its powerful currents will prove alien and hostile to the Christian revelation, as they undoubtedly are to the ancient ethnic religions.

The modern world believes in science, as we saw, and draws much of its most distinctive colour and life from that source. Is it wholly incidental that the growth of science has been in Christian lands? A recent writer [1] has sought to show that in their fundamental nature "science" and "Christianity" are alike, that as science is a practical activity for the removal of ignorance, so Christianity is a practical activity meeting the fact of evil by action designed to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Science and Christianity alike ground knowledge on activity, which is the life of faith. This may be a daring suggestion; at least it is not to be denied that the Christian view of the world is more hospitable to science than one which treats all phenomena as illusion.

Christianity ought not to be afraid of the idea of progress, so influential in our modern society. It may claim to afford the only possible basis for progress.

[1] J. Macmurray, *Adventure*.

For it holds to the belief in the life-giving Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of Jesus, and not only admits progress but supplies direction and purpose and ultimate goal and pattern. What better guide is there for our changing modern life, as it turns away from all slavish adherence to ancient standards and yet seeks some principle of development, knowing in its own heart that it is more than *maya*,[1]—what better guide than the living Spirit of Jesus, who for so many centuries has been found by all races of men to be ever freshly and vitally their own ?

We shall find the same thing true wherever we look. There is no worthy activity of men which can be other than strengthened by submission to the spirit of Jesus. For " in Him was life, and the life was the light of men."

[1] See p. 30.

PART TWO
THE LIVING SOCIETY

CHAPTER IV
THE DIVINE COMMUNITY

I

For a good many people there seems to be a gulf between Christ and the Christian Church. Nothing is more common than to find, in popular use, the teaching and the spirit of Christ set over against the Church, both in the West and in the East. The issue goes deeper than a distaste for ecclesiasticism or Pharisaism. It springs from a doubt whether the spirit of Jesus is manifest in the Church more than, or even as much as, in the nobler "secular" movements of mankind.

To such critics it is perhaps no answer if we urge that, in the New Testament, the Christian life and membership in the Christian society are two sides of a single reality. Another argument may, however, have more force: that to people nowadays, just as in the days of which the Acts of the Apostles tells, Christianity reaches men first as a movement. The first impression it makes is not as an ideal or as a body of truth but as a movement, a movement incarnated in persons. We do not need to say, and it would

probably be historically wrong to say, that Jesus Christ founded an institution.

When the Lord withdrew His physical presence, He left not a book, not even a society with constitution, officers, and so forth, but a group of people united because they had shared the company of Jesus ; some, moreover, who had been specially called by Him ; that was the beginning of the Church.[1]

So we find the Church sending out Barnabas and Paul ; the Christian communities at Jerusalem and Antioch are the home base from which the evangelization of Asia Minor proceeds, and with startling rapidity the Christian fellowship spreads throughout the Roman Empire. One of the most remarkable facts in Christian history is our complete ignorance of the process by which this extension took place. We know very little about the missionaries of the first three centuries. We suddenly find province after province Christianized, though there is nothing to show how and by whom the work was done. The case of Bithynia is an excellent illustration of this. When Pliny wrote his famous letter to Trajan (A.D. 112) Christianity had taken such a firm hold upon the province that its influence had penetrated into the remote country districts. Pagan festivals were almost entirely neglected and animals for sacrifice could scarcely find purchasers. Yet the history of the conversion of Bithynia is buried in oblivion. The fellowship spread by its own inherent power.

There is something here not accidental but essential.

[1] Dr Temple, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., pp. 156-7.

The principal metaphor used by St Paul to describe the Church is "the Body of Christ," and in this pregnant phrase he sums up the fundamental thought of Christians about the Church. Probably there never has been a time when some Christians have not felt that the Church was sluggish in its discipleship. Nevertheless the Church exists to proclaim to the world the good news about the love of God, to preach the coming of the Kingdom begun in the world by Jesus, to make of mankind disciples of Jesus and to sustain them as His disciples in the fellowship of devotion, thought, and service. Just as the human body expresses in physical acts the personality which indwells it, so the Body of Christ is to incarnate in visible form and in effectual action the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ.

With this metaphor of the Church as the Body of Christ we must link another if we are to reach the fullness of the Christian thought. Christ is not only the Head of the Body; He is also the Head of every man. The indwelling of Christ in the Church and the indwelling of Christ in the individual spirit are two complementary truths, and we may perhaps see in them the archetypes of the two great strains of Christian thought which, though really complementary, have tended so grievously to be divided.

The Church, then, is in a sense a part of the Gospel, for it is a continuation of the incarnation of the Son of God among men. It is not simply an instrument which came into being because men found they needed it; it has arisen out of that very necessity in the nature of God which led to the Incarnation.

II

So important a principle, rooted in the very nature of the Christian religion, must have a profound bearing upon Christian missions. Christian missions indeed are nothing more or less than the expansion of the Church. There is, however, an important difference between the conditions existing in the Roman Empire when first the expansion of Christianity took place and in the modern world in which the missionary enterprise is carried on. Then, the Christian community expanded through adjacent territories among peoples similar in ideas, culture, language to those composing the Church. To-day, a society of people within a denomination in Europe or America sends out missionaries to a distant land, there to preach the Gospel and gather together a Christian fellowship.

Very early in the history of the Protestant missionary enterprise the importance of the building up of the Church in the mission field was emphasized. The London Missionary Society for a hundred and thirty years has printed on the first page of its Report the following statement of its object and fundamental principle:

> The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations. . . . It shall be left, as it ought to be left, to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the word of God.

William Carey in 1806 went a little beyond this in

outlining a *Form of Agreement Respecting the Great Principles upon which the Brethren of the Mission of Serampore Think It their Duty to Act in the Work of Instructing the Heathen.* Among other things he states that the missionary must found churches, translate the Scriptures, and establish schools. In 1851 Henry Venn, of the Church Missionary Society, formulated a statement which has been generally accepted as a primary principle in missionary policy :

Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical result, to be the settlement of a native Church under native pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors ; and that, as it has been happily expressed, the " euthanasia of a mission " takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases ; and so the mission passes into a settled community.[1]

Gustav Warneck, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, points to the way in which the earlier individualistic conception of the task of missions made way for a larger conception, namely :

The founding of such independent native churches as shall support themselves out of their own resources, edify and govern themselves by their own powers, and carry forward mission work of their own accord.[2]

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., p. 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

The Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1920 stated in memorable words the ideals of the Anglican communion in regard to this subject :

> Foreign missionaries should set before themselves one ideal and one only : to plant the Catholic Church in every land. They must remember that the Catholic Church needs the fullness of the nations. They must long to see national life putting on Christ and national thought interpreting His truth. . . . A foreign missionary . . . must leave to the converts the task of finding out their national response to the revelation of God in Christ and their national way of walking in the fellowship of the saints by the help of the One Spirit.[1]

We may take it to be a principle now universally accepted and placed in the forefront of practical policy, that it is the work of missions to foster the growth of the indigenous Church, and that the spiritual life of the Church in the mission field should be the principal criterion by which the success of missionary work should be judged.

It is therefore no surprise to find that in the meeting held at Jerusalem at Easter 1928, the representatives of what came to be called the " younger Churches " took a very prominent part. One of the chief impressions left on the minds of Europeans and Americans who attended that meeting appears to have been the emergence of the younger Churches, and the initiative, leadership, and spiritual genius displayed by their representatives. The composition of the meeting itself symbolized the fact that foreign missionary work must now more than ever be conceived as a

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., pp. 36-7.

Christian partnership in the extension of the Gospel throughout the world: a partnership shared between the older Churches of the West, with their large experience and resources, and the younger Churches of the East and Africa, with their intimate knowledge of the people to whom the Gospel is to be preached.

III

It is one aspect of the great importance everywhere attributed to the growth of the Church that there is no department of modern missionary work more continuously debated. It is one thing to say in general terms that the object of missionary work is to build up the Church; it is quite another to understand the necessities which are bound up with this ideal. Probably they could never have been understood except through the stern schooling of experience. Mistakes have been made, and not only in one direction. They were made, as would now be admitted, when far too great things were expected of Samuel Crowther, the first native Bishop in West Africa; or again when the American Board withdrew too speedily from Hawaii, with the result that the Church life steadily degenerated. Mistakes have been made in the other direction by the prolongation of foreign control, and by that lack of imagination which prevents even devoted men from understanding the time when advance is needed. No truthful and realistic account of the place of the Church in the mission field to-day can ignore the fact that in almost every mission field there is a keen desire on the part of the

Christian people for a revision of the relations between the indigenous Church and the foreign mission, and of the relation of the missionary to the local Church.

Two great difficulties confront a thoughtful Indian or Chinese, for instance, when he looks at the Christian Church in his own country. The first is its foreignness, and the second is its divided character. Missionaries themselves are fully aware of the foreignness of much of the Church life and organization in the mission field. A leading China missionary laments that :

> The Chinese Churches must have set forms of ecclesiastical organization, Church buildings, pastors, orders of service, and so forth (all of our western pattern), not because they have felt the need of these things to support and maintain their common spiritual life but because the missionary takes for granted that a Church should have these things. Consequently, from its birth the Church is not a spiritual organism but an exotic religious institution, organized by the foreign missionary.[1]

A group of somewhat revolutionary-minded Indian Christians, representing nevertheless a somewhat inarticulate feeling widely spread beyond their own group, refers to the fact that western Christianity has brought with it

> an administrative, ecclesiastical, and evangelistic machinery that is beyond the natural capacity of and unsuited to the instinctive genius of the Indian. Indian religion has laid far less emphasis on close organization and costly institutions and has depended

[1] A. H. Jowett Murray, quoted in *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., p. 42.

far more on the personal and voluntary service of unorganized religious workers of the type of Sadhus.[1]

It seems important to realize that the disquiet of Christians in the ancient countries of Asia regarding the Church is not simply, though it is in part, directed against the domination of foreign helpers. Its cause is also the foreign character of so much of the Church. There is a widespread feeling that the kind of institution which has been created is not a fellowship in which they would normally and readily express themselves, and is not, therefore, for them what the Church of Christ ought to be, a loved spiritual home. It is, of course, to be remembered that criticism of this type is confined to the relatively few. The great Christian communities in India drawn from the outcastes did not arouse among outcaste Christians the feeling that they are out of harmony with the Indian religious genius, for the reason that these poor folk have been for many centuries excluded from participation in the religious treasures of India. The educated leaders, in whom reposes a keener sense of the religious genius and history of their country, are those who are vocal in criticism, and even condemnation, of organized Christianity as they find it.

We should, however, be unwise if we were to discount this criticism because it is made by a minority, or because it is sometimes vague and lacking in constructive suggestion. It is literally life and death for the world Christian mission that the Christian

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., p. 51.

fellowship as it grows up in India, China, Japan, Korea, Egypt, Uganda, or South Africa should be in every country a true Christian home of the spirit, so that the people of each land, including those who are the most characteristic representatives of the finest history of their people, may feel and know that in the Church they are in their Father's house. We cannot too closely listen to this criticism, nor too strenuously seek to avoid the causes of it.

On the disunity of the Church there is an almost unanimous chorus of passionate protest. Dr V. S. Azariah, the Bishop of Dornakal, said at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order :

> Unity may be theoretically a desirable ideal in Europe and America, but it is vital to the life of the Church in the mission field. The divisions of Christendom may be a source of weakness in Christian countries, but in non-Christian lands they are a sin and a scandal.

We shall return to this subject later. It is enough to say here that many Christians in India, China, Japan, and Africa have sought humbly and earnestly to enter into the causes of the historic Christian divisions of the West, and do not view them with a merely petulant disregard. They are not forgetful of these things, and they are genuinely desirous of maintaining a unity of fellowship with the Christians of the West. Their patience, however, must not be expected to last for ever.

> Be patient with us [said the Bishop of Dornakal at Lausanne]. Be patient with us if we cannot very whole-heartedly enter into the controversies of either

the sixth or the sixteenth centuries. The recollection of these embitters Church life ; they may alienate the young Churches from all ecclesiastical connections.

IV

What, then, do the younger Churches of Christendom want ? Can we formulate with any clearness the main ideals and desires that are in the minds of the representatives of the Church in Asia and Africa ?

Not all, perhaps, would agree with Bishop Motoda of Japan when he deprecates speaking of an independent or self-determining Church apart from the one Holy and Apostolic Church, and insists, " We are members of the same family of God. The Church we have built in Japan is only a part of the one universal Church," [1] though Dr C. Y. Cheng at Jerusalem said much the same thing in asserting that " an indigenous Church is nothing more or less than a normal healthy growth of the Christian Church of which Jesus Christ is the supreme Head. The Church does not exist for the sake of being indigenous. An indigenous Church in the so-called mission field is not essentially different from a normal Church in any other part of the world." [2] Mr P. O. Philip of India similarly deplored the idea of

complete independence whereby the younger Churches, beyond receiving the message of Christ from the older Churches, seek no further help from them either in the apprehension of the message or in the practical

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., p. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

expression of it. This is not in accordance with the conception of the Christian Church as the Body of Christ. Every part of it, however unimportant, is essential to the whole, and each part interdependent on every other.[1]

At the same time there is universally felt the desire for a true independence and liberty of spirit. The spokesmen of the younger Churches have kind things to say about the solicitude of the mother Churches for the well-being of their children, but they are clearly a little weary of it. Bishop Howells of West Africa says :

> It is natural . . . that the other Churches are solicitous for the growth and happiness of the children to which they have given birth, but the older Churches should be looking to the time when their children would be able to stand upon their own feet. There is something wrong if a mother has to look after her child all through life ; something wrong with the child.[2]

And what the chosen delegates said with kindness and courtesy on the platform at Jerusalem is, it is to be feared, being said much less kindly, even with a tinge of bitterness, in many parts of the mission field.

Dr Cheng, speaking on behalf of the Chinese delegates at Jerusalem, made a statement of the characteristics which they would desire to see in an indigenous Church. They would wish it to be a natural outgrowth and expression of the corporate religious experience of Chinese Christians ; to bring out the best in the life, culture, and environment of

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., p. 166.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

the Chinese people ; to be self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating ; to be tolerant towards other religious faiths ; to be ready to co-operate with Churches in other lands ; to merge variety of denominations in a rich and vital unity ; to be clearly recognized as a spiritual and religious institution, and to be an integral part of the Church universal.

Such a definition would be accepted by Christian leaders in most of the different countries. They want the mission, as representing the Church in the West, to work with this indigenous Church, but not to rule it. They want the missionary to identify himself so far as is possible with the Church in the land of his service. They want to see the mission policy directed not only to giving positions of authority and influence to native leaders, but also to the training of native workers, so that they will be able to assume the responsibilities now wholly or mainly in the hands of missionaries.

V

The developments in policy which the present conditions in the mission field render incumbent upon missionary societies must to some extent vary with the different ecclesiastical organizations of the several missions. We can only indicate here the principal points to which attention should be directed.

In the first place, one question immediately arises in the mind of anyone who reads the statements made by the leaders of the younger Churches : Are missionaries still wanted ? If they are wanted, for what kind of tasks ?

On this point some definite evidence is available. In 1924 a representative group of Indian Christians published a statement addressed to students of Great Britain but equally applicable to the students of other western nations.[1] They urged the strong desire of India that her friends from abroad should come in the attitude of fellow-students and fellow-workers. They stated plainly their need for the help and fellowship of the Christians of the West in facing the tremendous tasks that confront Indian Christianity.

The 1927 meeting of the Chinese National Christian Council formulated a statement which throws much light on the nature of the demand for the service of missionaries. It was urged that the problem of developing the Christian Church is essentially a spiritual one, and that the greatest need of the Church is to learn better the meaning of the Christian life and the depths of the Christian experience. In this fundamental task was felt to lie the need for the continued help of western Christians in view of the older Christian background of the Church in the West.[2]

Others of the delegates at Jerusalem, from Korea, from Africa, and other countries, urged the need for continued missionary help, and Mr K. T. Paul of India at the closing meeting of all dealt very definitely with the question :

There has been a very wistful query as to whether the younger Churches do really want more missionaries to go to them. I cannot take upon myself to speak for the great and complex Church in India, but

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., pp. 67-8.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

I want to say in the clearest possible terms that the Church in India does want missionaries, as many as you can send. I do not say this in a sentimental way or in blindness to many of the limitations which we observe often in missionaries, but in a plain matter-of-fact way. I want to give one or two reasons. The West comes to us in an imperialistic way, and we resent that ; in an economic way, and we suspect it. There also come to us culture and art and the message of Christ. As the spirit of nationalism grows and becomes self-confident we shall be able to discriminate between the ways in which the West has come. There is not one single publicist in India who, to-day, will say that we do not want more missionaries. If you go to any Indian nationalist and ask whom among the foreigners he admires most, he will probably say " Mr C. F. Andrews." If you go to the Madras Presidency or city and ask whom of the foreigners they admire most, reference will be probably made to a missionary, Mr L. P. Larsen. So, if you take province after province, familiar names will be mentioned. It is the missionary, the human being who lives and loves in the ordinary everyday life of Christ, that is always welcome. Some of us may know that in the lifetime of Dr Miller, Hindus and Moslems who had been his students in his college had erected a statue for him. We want missionaries, Christ-like missionaries, who will come and live among us and identify themselves with us, who will share with us all our joys and sorrows in the spirit of Christ.[1]

Two things are clear as one reads statements like these. First, there is a real demand for the service that can be rendered by the missionary. There is, in addition, a conspicuous lack of simple unqualified

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., pp. 184-5.

demand for "more missionaries." The responsible leaders who have arisen as the spokesmen of the Christianity of these younger Churches are neither asking in a spirit of servility for as many missionaries of any kind as can be sent, nor are they in petulance and arrogance saying that none are needed. They know their need of help, and they want men and women who can give them help; particularly—and it may be said that this came out with great clearness in the Jerusalem meeting—they are conscious of needing the help of men and women of spiritual experience.

This may surprise some who have been accustomed to think of the missionary as the administrator and organizer, whose services at tasks of this kind are likely to be needed for many years to come in view of the supposed inferiority of the Oriental or African Christians in such work. But the leaders of the younger Churches are essentially right in their feeling. Whatever be the place of organization in Christian work, it is utterly unsound that any Church should rely for such service upon foreigners. The Oriental leaders who impress upon us the importance of the spiritual life and example, the spiritual fellowship and companionship of the missionary, have penetrated to the heart of the matter, and it would be well if their message could reverberate throughout the Churches of the West.

We may proceed now to consider some of the principal points to which the attention of those who care about missionary work must be given if there is to be advance and not deadlock, with consequent spiritual impoverishment, in the mission field.

First, there is to be considered the position of the mission itself. Practically all mission boards refrain from the dictation of missionary policy from London or New York, and defer in large measure to the views of the mission on the field. The mission being composed in most though not all cases entirely of missionaries, the effect of this development is that, while the board apparently withdraws from direct control of administration in the mission field, that administration is continued by a body created by and responsible to the mission board, so that the mission council on the field directly exercises effective control over all work supported or aided by funds from the West. Opinion among the representatives of the younger Churches is definitely against this arrangement. They consider that freer contact between the young Church in India, China, or Japan, and the Church in the West, which has helped and fostered it, ought to be possible; and that the full helpfulness and service of the missionaries on the spot is hindered by the position of authority into which the arrangement described necessarily forces them. A problem of this kind must, as we have said, be solved in terms of the different ecclesiastical organizations, but there are few, if any, missions in which in some form the difficulty does not arise.

Secondly, the position of the missionary himself has to be considered. In the East the desire is growing that the activities of the missionary shall be under the direction of the Church in the land in which he is working. There is the demand that the missionary shall be sent out at the request of the Church, shall

be controlled in his activities by it, shall be brought out first on probation, and shall not return to the field unless it is the desire of the Church that he shall do so. The minds of many Christians in eastern countries are turning towards an ideal state of things, wherein the missionary and the Christians of the land would work together in a single organization; in some places this ideal is well-nigh achieved.

Thirdly, there is the question of the large institution. No great difficulties exist in the way of putting pastoral and evangelistic work or the control of schools in the hands of the indigenous Church. But it is useless to ignore the greater difficulties which are found in regard to the control of such large institutions as the great mission hospitals, and even more, the Christian colleges and universities of India, China, Japan, and the Near East. The difficulty is twofold. On the one hand, the Church may not have the personnel, or be in other ways able to control such great undertakings with the heavy task of organization involved. On the other, as many of the Christians feel, they ought not to assume control of great institutions, were it otherwise possible, before those institutions have become a natural expression of their life. It should also be remembered that in most western countries the Christian Church does not control and organize institutions of the type of a university, and it may be questioned whether the line of development in the East may not be the same. At the same time the great colleges, for instance in India and China, which control the higher education of the great mass of the Christians of those countries,

cannot remain under purely or mainly foreign control without the Christianity of the country receiving too strongly foreign a cast. The Chinese government insists on a Chinese head in all registered schools and colleges. Doubtless the problem will be solved by the creation of local governing bodies on the field.

The problem of finance lies at the heart of this whole question. Sometimes the difficulties inherent in the receipt of money from western sources seem so great that responsible men are found who desire the complete cessation of foreign grants. If the continued receipt of grants from the West necessarily involves spiritual dullness and slavish dependence on the part of the younger Churches, then undoubtedly it would be better that grants from the missionary societies should cease. These two alternatives, however, cannot exhaust all the possibilities. In face of the immense tasks waiting to be achieved in the name of Christ in Asia and Africa, it is impossible to believe that the large financial resources of the western Churches have not a part to play in their performance.

What is needed now is that thorough and serious thinking should be given to the question—How can missionary funds be placed at the disposal of the younger Churches in such a way as to foster their spiritual life and increase their initiative rather than diminish their self-reliance and dull their spiritual life? Already most missionaries have worked out schemes whereby Christians of the younger Churches share in the administration of foreign funds. Advance

must be sought by distinguishing among the objects for which money is given, those which can be subsidized from abroad with advantage to the receiving Church, and those for which such gifts may be disastrous.[1]

On one other point missionary attention should be thoroughly alive to-day, that is, the development of leadership. No Church can merely by taking thought add leaders to itself, and there is a sense in which leaders must always be born and can never be made; still, it is clear that the great instrument of education can be used in a way that will give to those who have the power to lead an adequate opportunity of developing that power. The younger Churches are very much alive to this point. They feel that missions have not done all that they might to find and train leaders, and that sometimes there is an unwillingness to give opportunities to men and women who are able to use them. They say that the authority of the mission cannot decrease and that of the Church increase unless definite steps are taken to enable the potential leaders of the younger Churches to obtain the training which alone justifies responsibility.

In particular, theological education is in most parts of the mission field in grave need of reorganization. Not even denominational loyalty can excuse the weakness and futility of some of the theological training now given, in tiny institutions, manned by teachers with no qualifications and sometimes burdened with other and exhausting duties. The Roman Catholic Church in China, as is well known, has given

[1] Cf. *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., pp. 210-11.

more attention to the training for the priesthood than to anything else, and not a few Protestants in China are wondering whether the example is not worth copying.

VI

Will the Church of the West rise to its opportunity ? In order that it may do so it is absolutely necessary that the Christians who support missionary work, who pray for it and give money to it, and who may contemplate giving their personal life service to it, should shake off the influence of complacent words, and be certain that in their hearts they assent to the position which the facts themselves force upon them. There are a good many Christian circles nowadays in the East where a man who knows his ground will be a little shy of quoting the words often so glibly used, about Our Lord and John the Baptist, " He must increase and I must decrease." These people have been told perpetually that the mission is to decrease and the Church in the mission field to increase, and they tend to become somewhat cynical about it. At the same time there are a great many groups of missionaries who, on hearing from an enthusiastic missionary travelling expert that " the mission must decrease and the Church must increase," heave a sigh of resignation, for not only have they heard it before, but most of them honestly believe it and are trying to work on that basis. Doubtless neither of these two groups is free from blame. The missionary will certainly say, and say with truth, that there are many

cases in his own experience where the only reason for the non-increase of the Church is that the Christians will not rise to the opportunities which stare them in the face. Many an Indian or Chinese Christian will say with equal truth that the missionary accepts in theory the primacy of the Church, but has neither the will nor the imagination to act in practice upon that policy.

We do not pretend that there is any single solution of this difficulty, or that the reasons for slowness of advance lie on one side more than another. The Church in the West must, however, face this question for itself. How far do the people who support missions really believe in the primacy of the Church in the mission field? It is not enough to say that the more thoughtful students of missionary work understand the importance of it. Students who have made friends with Oriental or African students in their home colleges find it easy enough to view with generous warmth the desire of the Indian or the Chinese or the African Christian to have a larger liberty of Christian initiative. But are the rank and file of missionary supporters prepared for the full practical meaning of the conception of partnership? They have been accustomed in the past to think of Christian work in Asia or Africa as an enterprise initiated from the West, carried on by western agents with the aid of native helpers, and therefore in a sense as the projection into these countries of the Christianity that they themselves knew. This was inevitable. But the scene has gradually changed. What the Churches of the West

are asked now to do is to engage in a partnership which will mean, not less help and not less service from them than in the past, but help and service given in different ways. It may seem censorious and ungenerous to suggest that there is, especially perhaps in the practical, go-ahead type of mind typical of the western European and American, a certain love of control and of exercise of power, together with a certain lack of confidence in the ability of others, especially of other races, to do things as well as they themselves can do them. We should be rigorous in self-criticism, and we should recognize to the full those tendencies in ourselves which give colour to the idea, false as it is, that there is some connection between missionary work and the extension of foreign domination and culture. Nobody who knows missionary work will justify such a charge, but neither can we refuse to consider that there may be in us that which gives rise to the charge, and that in a world where national sensitiveness is at its maximum we need a thorough scrutiny of our motives, and a complete eradication of any element of the love of power, if the kind of service demanded of us now by our Master is not to be withheld in fact, though given in name and word.

At the same time one deplores the tendency among some of those who are most alive to this issue, to speak of the relation of the Churches of the West to those of the East and Africa almost entirely in negatives. It is not only a matter of " not doing " this and " not doing " that ; of *not* being lords and masters, of *not* enforcing our methods of organization and types of culture. If we are right in believing that

there is a great task waiting for the Christian world mission, and that it is a task for which all the resources of the entire Christian world are needed, it will be deplorable if the most sympathetic Christian minds of Europe and America should be allowed, by that very sympathy, to conceive of the missionary cause as a series of inhibitions.

If only we can accept with absolute cordiality and enthusiasm the position that we will give our lives and our resources for the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ by whatever means are shown by the best judgment we can reach to be fruitful and effective, then there lies before the Church a task of surpassing interest and magnitude. Probably in no other way can the spirit which the times need be engendered in the Christians of the West so well as by actual contact with some of the leaders of the younger Churches. We have already abundant proof of this afforded by the visits of some of the leading Christian men of Asia and Africa. Not to mention any of those who are alive, and whose friendship is a present reality to many who may read these lines, who could fail to think differently of the Christian partnership of Europe and America on the one hand, and Africa on the other, after contact with a man like Kwegyir Aggrey of Achimota, himself the incarnation of the spirit of friendly co-operation in Christ? No one who thought of work with Aggrey would think mainly of what he was to be careful not to do; he would go to his task with something of the cheerfulness and gaiety of the man who had inspired him.[1] There is

[1] *See* forthcoming Life of Doctor Aggrey, by E. W. Smith.

therefore great significance in the hope expressed by the Jerusalem delegates. Just as "the Churches of the West send Missions and Missions of Help to the Churches of Africa and Asia, the time is come when all would gain if the younger Churches were invited to send Missions of Help to the Churches of Europe and America, that they may minister of their treasure to the spiritual life of those to whom they come."

VII

Finally, there is the great task of achieving Christian unity. The words already quoted from the Bishop of Dornakal[1] were in no way exaggerated. The spectacle of a divided Christendom arouses mockery among intelligent non-Christians. The late Canon Gairdner writes:

> The indescribably divided state of the Church, and the horrors for which the persecution of Christian by Christian has been responsible, are a real stumbling-block to the Moslem. Each little community however insignificant, apparently ascribing to itself alone all orthodoxy, intensely aloof and hostile to its neighbour; plural patriarchs for the same see, plural altars for the members of the Body while they live and plural graveyards for them when they die—even in death hugging their own isolations and elbowing each other out into the cold. What sights could be more pitifully ridiculous, if they were not such an utter shame? "Become a Christian? What sort of Christian?" . . . "Was your Christ born twice, and did He die twice?" Such are the questions which the Moslems ask.[2]

[1] See p. 113.

[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., pp. 275-6.

The increased co-operation of missions of all denominations in recent years has tended to eradicate some of the appearance of open competition between Christian bodies, but grateful as we may be for this development, the shame of the Church's disunion is still her weakness in the face of the non-Christian peoples.

But the case is strongest and most poignant when we think, not of the non-Christians, but of the Christians themselves. The reason why so many from the mission field speak with passion on this subject, is that they feel the utterly intolerable nature of the burden which is laid upon them. In so far as the existing divisions of Indian or Chinese Christianity are, as they almost completely are, the replica of divisions in England or Germany or the United States, they are almost totally irrelevant to the Christians upon whom they have been imposed. How can we speak sincerely of our desire that the Church in the mission field shall be truly a spiritual home for the peoples of the different countries, speaking to them not in foreign accents but in their own language, if this purely foreign characteristic is riveted upon them ? Modifications in hymn-books, or in Church architecture, or the development of elaborate schemes of devolution in authority from missionaries to national Christian workers will all be largely futile if they are accompanied by a continuance of a denominationalism which is, in its origin and in its present sources of energy, foreign.

It is unlikely that the Christians of India or China or Persia will be forced upon so terrible a

dilemma as the choice between breaking fellowship with the Christians of the West, to whom under God they owe the Gospel, and failing to achieve fellowship with the Christians of their own land. It might be, as was suggested at Jerusalem, that if we had to choose we should prefer to belong to a communion in India or China which was one with other Christians of the same communion in other countries, than to belong to an Indian or Chinese Church which was out of fellowship with the rest of the world. But we need not contemplate such a choice. The spirit of unity has achieved great things in the mission field. The Church of Christ in China, embracing some hundred and twenty thousand communicants, includes Christians of the Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and, in certain parts, of the Baptist Churches, and has retained its fellowship with the Christians of the West in all those divisions. Perhaps the most important instance of a practical movement for unity in the whole world to-day is that in South India, where the Anglican and Wesleyan communions are in negotiation with the South India United Church (which is a fusion of Presbyterians and Congregationalists) with a view to complete organic unity. The importance of this movement lies in the fact that it is by far the most hopeful effort to overcome the stubborn division between Episcopal and non-Episcopal Christianity.

The main part of the thinking and planning in this great matter must necessarily be done in the countries of the East and Africa. Nevertheless an immensely heavy responsibility lies upon the Christians of the

West, and upon their leaders. Will they say " Halt " to these movements, or will they bid them Godspeed in the Name of the Lord? What a man believes truly to be a sacred principle received of God must not by him be bartered away for anything; and we make no complaint when men, on grounds of deeply felt principle, find themselves in opposition to the movement for unity. This, however, can be said, that no man dare look at the mission field to-day and resist this movement except on grounds of the highest principle, and no man dare call his objection an objection of principle, until in an agony of self-examination he has made certain before God that he is not guilty of elevating the custom and use within which he has grown up to the dignity of a law of God.

CHAPTER V

THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS

I

"We, representatives of both older and younger Churches, are deeply conscious of the fact that more than half the world has no knowledge of Him who is the Light and Life of men, and that even among those who have had the opportunity to know Him, He is only imperfectly understood and followed. The burden of our hearts is that the Christian life and message may be accepted by all men everywhere." [1]

With these important words the men and women who met at Jerusalem prefaced their Report on the relations between the younger and the older Churches. Evangelism must always be the primary task of the Church. Once the true meaning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is accepted, there can be no further argument about the duty of evangelism. Yet we know that many excellent church-goers are shy of evangelism on the part of the Church at home, and many can be found to approve of medical or educational missionary work who disapprove of the fundamental task of all missionary enterprise. "Propaganda," "proselytism," are words of evil import to many. There is, on the other hand, a suspicion among many of the older

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. III., p. 207.

supporters of missionary work that modern missionary policy is afraid of evangelism; that too much emphasis is laid on education; that all sorts of subsidiary activities (with some of which this book proceeds later to deal) are diverting the labour and energy of missionaries from their proper task. The relation of the newer aspects of missionary work to the central motive of missions will be dealt with in its place. The present chapter deals with this first and last of the missionary tasks, the work of preaching the Gospel.

We shall consider, first, some of the amazing facts which come to light as we study the record of evangelistic work throughout the world; second, the ways in which the Christian spirit of witness to its Master is expressing itself in ever more intimate connection with the life and customs and experience of the different peoples; and third, in the light of the evidence thus collected, we shall review the case for evangelism in the modern world.

II

A.—One of the most amazing stories in the whole history of the Christian Church is that associated with the name and work of the prophet Harris on the Ivory Coast of Africa.

In 1913 Harris appeared as the messenger of God among the people of the villages on the farther side of the lagoons and forests of the Ivory Coast. Of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity he seems to have taught little. He began with the fact of God as the

one Lord and Master. He denounced idol-worship, bade his hearers give up theft, idolatry, drunkenness and murder, and to keep one day sacred to God. He carried the cross as evidence that One had come from heaven and died for men, and when he baptized, he made the converts take hold upon the staff of his cross, and sprinkled them in the Triune Name. Though he taught his people little, he told them that there was much more to be learned and known, and on the head of each person kneeling at his feet for baptism he would lay the Bible, saying that in that Book the whole truth of God was contained. They were to look for the coming of a white missionary, who would open the Book and unfold the truth.

Such were the vehemence and power of his preaching that the whole population of the regions through which he walked barefoot was moved to forsake its ancient worship . . . the outward institutions and tokens of fetishism were swept clean away. It was as if some fierce fire had passed through the dense bush of tribal superstitions and consumed everything in its path. The number of his converts and followers cannot be estimated exactly, but the figure runs into tens of thousands.[1]

At the beginning of the War the French authorities, being desirous of keeping the people quiet, and not unnaturally suspecting some political meaning in so remarkable a movement, deported Harris. His people had a rudimentary Church organization; preachers were appointed, with "apostles" for the management

[1] E. W. Thompson, *International Review of Missions*, October 1928.

of congregational affairs, and churches were built. For ten years the people waited for the coming of the white missionary of the Book. In many of the churches Bibles lay on the reading desks, venerated, but closed to a wholly illiterate people. There is nothing more remarkable in the whole story than this patient waiting for ten years. In 1924 a Wesleyan missionary, W. J. Platt, toured the Ivory Coast, and found the astounding welcome which has now become historic. He was recognized as the missionary foretold by the prophet, and the people offered him their churches and themselves, on the one condition that he would send them teachers. The mission is now faced with the gigantic task of the education, in the widest sense of the word, of this mass of Africans, who have been placed so miraculously in its hands.

Although Harris gained more converts in a single year than many long-established missions have gained in fifty years of organized work, this Ivory Coast miracle is in no sense to be taken as a disproof of the value of ordinary evangelistic work. It is quoted here because of its value as a reminder of the latent power of even an imperfect and emasculated version of the Gospel, and as a challenge to our faith, particularly in the evangelistic possibilities of the Church in the mission field. A large part of the secret of the movement lay in Harris himself. He was an African, intensely African, and appealing to all that is deepest in an African soul; and he had passed through a terrific spiritual experience, which left him burning with the call to evangelism.

B.—From many points of view the mass move-

ments of India are amazing. They have brought hundreds of thousands of people into the Christian fold, but the size of these movements, great as it is, is not their principal feature. Their significance lies in the fact that they are movements of masses, that is, of whole communities acting as one. The first of these movements began early in the nineteenth century when a Tamil-speaking pariah appeared in the Danish mission church in Tanjore, smeared with the holy ashes that betoken a Hindu pilgrim. He explained that he had come from Travancore to the holy shrine at Chidambaram, and that the supreme God had brought him there to seek for salvation. Convinced of the truth of the Christian faith, he was baptized and returned to Travancore to tell the good news. A year later two hundred of his friends were worshipping in the name of Jesus. They were subjected to severe persecution, and Ringeltaube, the first Protestant missionary to work among the outcastes, was sent to their aid. Nine years after his arrival in South Travancore the Christians numbered eleven thousand. Later, large numbers of Shanars were baptized, and still later a movement, which reached its height ten years ago, added thousands of outcastes to the South India United Church.

Similar stories could be told of the beginnings of work among the Pulayas of North Travancore, among the Malas and Madigas in the Telugu country, among the Chamars and Chuars of Northern India, and among the Dheds and Mahars and Maungs of the West. It is estimated that the numbers being received into the different branches of the Church throughout India

amount to some ten thousand each month, and the percentages of increase in the provinces where mass movements are being carried on are astonishing.

It will be said that this is a purely social movement. "These people have everything to gain and nothing to lose. They can know little of Christianity. The missionary is valuable to them in their struggle with oppressive caste landlords." Is there truth in this? Mistakes, of course, have been made. Outcastes have sometimes been baptized without the possibility of adequate teaching. Sometimes again the missionary (nearly always moved by pressure from home) has given too much weight to numerical success. As for the outcaste, of course his motives are mixed; how could they fail to be? As Mr Gandhi has repeatedly urged, Hinduism has denied to the outcaste any decent human status. The outcaste hears of a religion which treats him as a brother, and of a Saviour who does not distinguish between him and the caste man. Is it to be wondered at that he embraces the new hope, and with his whole community moves towards the light that has shined upon him? To want to be treated like a man rather than like a dog may not be a purely religious motive, but it is a perfectly honourable motive, and one of the practical differences between Hinduism and Christianity (a difference which thoughtful Hindus are anxious to remove) lies in the different attitude of the two religions towards these poor degraded human beings.

The path of the outcaste convert is hard. Often he is denied access to the wells, refused permission to pass through the village streets, or has his huts burnt

down and his grain destroyed. The persecution faced by the outcaste Christian is perhaps not so intense as that faced by the high caste Hindu, nor is it accompanied by such heartfelt anguish on the part of kinsfolk. Still, for the outcaste as for others, the entrance to the Christian way is strait. That there is real religion in the mass movements no one who is intimate with them can doubt. "If giving to their Church, consistent Christian living and patient endurance of persecution are true tokens of the Holy Spirit's work in transforming lives that were sinful and degraded, such tokens abound." [1]

The message of the love of God revealed in Christ, contrasted with the medley of debased spirit worship which is the religion of the outcastes of India, comes with a simple and powerful appeal. A missionary told the present writer of an old woman, an enquirer under instruction, who was set to learn the Lord's Prayer in her own tongue. She got as far as the words "Our Father," and stopped. Asked to go on, she said to the missionary, "Is it true that God is our Father?" She was assured that it was true, and replied, "If that is really true, I do not think I need to learn any more."

Few things are more significant in India than the effect of the mass movements, where they have been wisely directed, upon the caste people. The Bishop of Dornakal tells how Sudra landlords become staunch friends of Christianity after seeing the change in the lives of their serfs, and not a few of them become Christians.

[1] W. S. Hunt, *India's Outcastes*, p. 60.

There is a village where the caste people for over six years have worshipped no idols, have offered no sacrifices, and have observed no Hindu festivals. "We offer our prayers and praise to your God only," said they recently to the pastor. Many of them have given up drink and foul language through the example of their Christian serfs. "We are ashamed to do this now," they said, "when we see those people living clean and respectable lives." [1]

C.—We may take as an example of evangelistic work of quite a different kind the wonderful extension of the Church in the Shansi province of China, with which the name of a well-known American missionary, the late Mr Watts Pye, is associated.

This remarkable movement was, on the one hand, the result under God of the careful planning and forethought of one missionary, but at the same time the methods adopted ensured that responsibility and leadership lay continually upon the Church and the Chinese Christians. A careful survey of the whole field, geographical, social, and personal, was made, and on the basis of this survey centres of evangelistic effort were opened at important points from twenty to forty miles apart. These stations were opened with Chinese leadership only, the missionary keeping strictly in the background. From the beginning the responsibility was laid upon the Church and its members to win their own villages. A very careful study of Chinese customs, social manners, traditions, and methods of work was made, and an effort made to adapt them to Christian use. Approach was made at the very

[1] *National Christian Council Review*, October 1926.

beginning to the most influential people in each community, with the object of reaching quickly and effectively through them the whole community. The missionary, Chinese evangelists, and the pastors and other workers gave most of their time to the supervision and spiritual instruction and guidance of converts, and to the training of lay workers and leaders through short courses of different kinds. The Church was made the centre not only for spiritual teaching and worship, but also for community service, for sanitation, public health, and popular education.

D.—Another amazing piece of evangelism conducted by the Christians themselves is taking place in the Lushai Hills in Assam. The Lushais, like their neighbours the Khasis, though animists, are not outcastes; they differ completely from both the Hindus and the outcaste population. There are some sixty-five thousand Lushais in the hills; when the Welsh Presbyterian and the English Baptist Missions began work there thirty years ago there were no Christians, now there are over thirty-two thousand. The Lushais were raiders and head-hunters, the terror of the villages and tea plantations on the low hills and plains below them. The great evangelistic movement in the Lushai Hills is due mainly to a campaign begun ten years ago. The Christians set before themselves the aim of reaching with their message the whole of the non-Christians in their hills. In this they succeeded. Scenes reminiscent of the Welsh revival were frequent, and a widespread spiritual movement penetrated the country. Young people travelled from village to village in the intervals between their busy

times in the rice fields. It would be arranged that at the sound of a gong every Christian should cease work and for a few minutes address himself to the conversion of his neighbour. Lushai, we are told, became a land of song ; the one theme of conversation in the villages was that the religion of Jesus Christ had come as a great deliverance from the fear of demons. The Church has adopted as its watchword " Lushai for Christ within ten years." [1]

In the 1921 India Census Report reference is made to the extraordinary progress of Christianity in the Lushai Hills, upon which the census officer remarks :

At first I was inclined to cast doubt upon the accuracy of the figures, which showed in one district an increase in the number of Christians during the decade from two thousand to twenty-seven thousand, and suggested that zealous Christian enumerators might have made entries according to their own wishes rather than the facts. The superintendent, however, thinks the case is rather the reverse. Mr Scott tested many entries himself, and he quotes an instance of the rigorous standard adopted by the new converts, the five-year-old son of Christian parents being entered as an animist because the young scoundrel was so greedy that he failed to say his grace before meals !

III

It is not possible within the scheme of this book to deal, except incidentally, with the work of medical missions, but they have proved so essential a part

[1] See article by F. T. Sandy in *National Christian Council Review*, January 1925.

of evangelism that at least a brief reference is necessary. The ground on which medical missionary work is based cannot be too often emphasized. It is easy to imagine the kind of medical work which might in fact appear to the people of a backward country as no more than a new and superior kind of magic. Important as it is that medical missionary work should be as thorough in its methods and scientific in its standards as possible, the fundamental reason for its inclusion in the armoury of Christian missions is that it affords a priceless opportunity of witnessing to Christ, and exhibiting the true nature of the Christian spirit. This is not to say simply that the work of the medical missionary affords opportunities for evangelism, but rather that the work of the medical missionary is itself evangelism, for it conveys not only by word, but by life, action, and example, the compassion and mercy and love of Christ. The turbulent frontier of India has never known any exhibition of the meaning of Jesus Christ so powerful as that afforded by the great chain of Christian hospitals, with their doctors who, like Pennell, have been able to go where none else were permitted.

A leading medical missionary has stated the case for medical missionary work in a way that relates it very closely to the fundamental purpose of missions and to the inner life of the Church :

> Medical missions should not be established with the sole object of getting hold of people, as the Lord never used the act of healing in that way. . . . It is true that medical missions have been an example of good work, that they have first opened certain lands,

and have made the work of the evangelist easier, that they have won the friendship of hostile people and tribes, and opened the doors of zenanas. But medical mission work is not an agency ; it is an essential part of the Christian message, and the motive for healing the sick is a God-given compassion such as was in the heart of Christ.[1]

Another highly important but apparently little valued type of Christian witness is that rendered through literature. Everyone knows something of the wonderful achievements of the Bible Societies in making available the Bible, or at any rate the Gospels, in most of the languages of the earth, and there must be few who do not understand the invaluable aid which these societies have rendered to the whole missionary cause. Much less attention is given to the provision of Christian literature other than the Bible. Even China and India, after generations of organized Christian work, are miserably equipped with Christian literature in the vernacular. In most of the Indian languages there are so few Christian books existing (even if we reckon the most antique and obsolete volumes) that the total available library of a Christian pastor would occupy a small shelf, and could be bought for a few rupees. The same is even more true in Africa ; both in Africa and in India the diversity of languages has added to the difficulty of providing literature.

On the other hand, the need and opportunity are immense. The history of the Indian mass movements, and of similar great outpourings of the Spirit in other

[1] Dr Frimodt-Möller, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. VIII., p. 169.

parts of the world, has shown the importance of following evangelism with teaching. The building up of the Christian community will be, if not impossible, at least very difficult if the people do not learn to read, and they will soon lose the ability to read unless they are given books. But the opportunity is not only among Christians, it is even more among the non-Christians. Every worker among Moslems knows the power of the printed page in Islam. In a day when education is spreading in all parts of the world the opportunity of the Christian Church in the matter of literature is enormous. We need not only the commentaries, Bible helps, and devotional works, valuable as they are, which comprise so large a proportion of the total Christian literature now available, but a supply also of good " secular " literature, stories, for instance, and works of a general kind which have the Christian spirit implicit in them, and make real the Christian ideals of life. It is curious that in a day when there are signs in many quarters of the inevitable contraction of the number of Christian schools and colleges, the potential power of this great Christian arm should be so little understood.

IV

We pass now to consider some of the ways in which the evangelistic spirit of the Church is finding expression by striking out new methods in close harmony with the spirit and life of the different peoples.

A.—One of the most remarkable of these is the use of indigenous music. In China, in some districts,

Chinese Christians have adapted to Christian uses the popular singing of ballads to the accompaniment of the drum, and have written ballads containing the familiar Biblical stories, and sung them with drum accompaniment to the village people.[1]

This type of work has probably been studied more carefully and carried further in India than anywhere else, and "lyrical evangelism" has become a recognized method of work. Everywhere there are sacred verses current among the people, and stories of the gods are sung in the villages in a way that appeals to the imagination and to a sense that is above argument. People will listen by thousands every night for a month to a recitation of the *Ramayana*, the reciter giving no preaching, and confining himself to chant and song. Some Indian Christians and missionaries have determined to baptize this method into Christ. One of them[2] tells how he and his Indian friend go out with an orchestra of violins, tuned drums, small cymbals, and a *tamburi* for the fundamental. They begin with a Sanskrit invocation from one of the Psalms, followed by a hymn. After a few words spoken or chanted, they go straight on to a song of praise dealing with the birth of Christ, setting forth the Gospel stories, drawing on the *Gita* and other Indian books where there is anything relevant, but from whatever direction it is approached, keeping always to the subject of Jesus. An effort is made to express the soul's need and sense of the grace of God in musical language. As

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. VI., p. 36.

[2] See article by R. A. Hickling in *The East and the West*, October 1925.

the story of Calvary is told the most profound impression is left upon the hearers.

This method, developed first in Southern India, is now being increasingly used in all parts of the country.

B.—Another example of what one might call evangelistic ingenuity may be found in quite a different field, in the newspaper evangelism of Japan. The high level of literacy in Japan (ninety-eight per cent of her children attend school), and the value set on reading, have suggested to missionaries and Japanese Christians the possibility of using the public press for conveying and expounding the meaning of Christianity. There are in Japan close on three hundred daily papers, some of them with a circulation of nearly a million. Japan has a common written and spoken language which prevails all over the country, and conditions are favourable for the development of what has come to be called "newspaper evangelism" to a degree that probably few other countries could equal. On the other hand, in spite of the growth of industrialism, Japan is still mainly a rural nation. Eighty-five per cent of her people live outside the big cities, and are scattered broadcast in a way which has presented great difficulties to the evangelist. At the same time, Japan has imbibed western thought, and is the scene of a conflict of thought and ideas such as few countries in the world have undergone.

It is to these three factors of prevalent literacy, scattered population, and intellectual uncertainty that the importance of newspaper evangelism is due.

Christian articles by Japanese appear regularly in certain daily papers, and each ends with an invitation to those interested to enter into correspondence. There is little or no attempt at controversy, but a positive presentation of the Christian Gospel is given. The problems of the day are discussed—race, secular education, materialism, the relation of Christianity to the sex problem, and kindred topics.

When an enquirer enters into correspondence he is given a selection of suitable literature, together with the Gospels, and is invited to join the New Life Society, formed to help such enquirers. He is put in touch with a local church, or if none exists, contact is maintained with him through a correspondence course. That the articles have a great circulation is shown by the response. Articles issued from the Tokyo office of the movement in the course of ten months produced nearly seven thousand applications from all over the Far East, the majority being from young educated men in country districts. In addition to the widespread general interest caused, there is ample proof of the value of the work to individuals. Through the work of one office alone, over two hundred have been baptized, many having received practically their entire instruction by means of the correspondence courses.[1]

C.—There is no better example of what one might call a truly nationalist type of evangelism than is to be found in the ashram movement in India. Some Christians who have been most conscious of the failure of traditional methods to reach the typical

[1] W. H. M. Walton in *The Chinese Recorder*, March 1926.

Hindu mind have sought other ways of conveying the Christian message and interpreting the Christian spirit in a manner more in harmony with Indian conceptions of religion. These movements are yet in their infancy, but even if they should fail they represent a tendency which must grow stronger and stronger if the Church is to win the deepest heart of the people.

The best known of these ashrams was begun a few years ago at Tirupattur by two doctors, an Indian and a Scotsman, who had studied together in Britain. They have established a combined hospital and ashram, where the life of a tiny brotherhood is carried on, bodily ills are tended in the spirit of Christ, and those also who desire to come to study, meditate, or pray, as in a Hindu ashram, may do so. Another example of this movement may be seen near the great temple of Jagannath at Puri, where a well-known Bengali Christian has established a Christian centre for study, meditation, and worship. His hope is that Hindus who are set on spiritual things may find their way to him as they go to or from the temple. The most recent of these movements is the Christo Seva Sangh, recently established at Poona, an Anglican brotherhood comprising Indians and Englishmen.

No one can say how these methods now beginning to be used in the hands of Christians will approve themselves. It is, however, clear that a Church which is producing men and women whose zeal for witness to Christ is thus continually issuing in new forms is a living Church.

V

We have shown that the evangelistic spirit of Christianity has in the past achieved wonderful things and is achieving them still to-day, and that this spirit of evangelism lives not only in a single stereotyped method, but, like everything that is alive, is continually expressing itself in new forms. Let us now come to grips with the objections and hesitation which some people feel in regard to it.

Of one objection probably Turkey presents to-day the strongest example. The Angora government is in no way identified with orthodox Islam, but it is prepared to punish in the most rigorous way any use of schools for even the most indirect evangelism, and, although less overtly, still very effectively discourages any attempts to lead Moslems to become Christians. The recent trial of two American women missionaries for alleged proselytism in a school at Broussa has attracted much attention to the strength of the official antagonism in Turkey towards Christian proselytism. We believe that the Turkish argument would be something like this. "The old Turkish empire was enfeebled by its lack of unity. The modern Turkish state is a unified state, and its strength is its unity. It has removed the Armenian, Greek, and other Christian minorities by transportation and exchange,[1] and it does not intend to allow its fabric to be weakened through its citizens being drawn away to alien allegiance. Whatever Christians may say, Christianity in the Turkish empire in the

[1] We cannot forget other and more terrible methods.

past has been the spearhead of foreign aggression and diplomatic action. Turkish Moslems may believe what they like, but they are not to become Christians, for a Christian means an enemy of the Turkish rule."

We do not know whether this is a true account, or a merely fanciful one, of what the Turk thinks, but it seems to us not improbable that he thinks on some such lines as these. Now the preaching and the acceptance of Christ ought not to be a weakness to a justly governed state, and if it were true that the conversion of Turkish Moslems had the effect of weakening the stability of the Turkish state, and introducing foreign allegiance, the movement ought to be condemned, not merely by the Turkish governors, but by Christian standards. The answer which the missionary would make, and is now making, in Turkey is that he seeks no such ends or influence as are suspected, and undoubtedly, if he has patience and constancy, he will end by being accepted without fear.

We mention this objection, as it is present in one form or another very widely. Mr Bertrand Russell, who, it is to be feared, is not an altogether candid critic of missionary work, says of American missionaries in China, "They remain always missionaries, not of Christianity, though they often think that is what they are preaching, but of Americanism." [1] The *Indian Social Reformer*, a very upright and fair-minded journal, accuses missionaries in India of bringing to the Hindu "freedom to eat beef and drink beer," [2] the underlying suggestion being that as

[1] Quoted in the *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 13.
[2] *Ibid.*

beef and beer are typically British cultural media, evangelism by British missionaries means the imposition of British "kultur."

In one form or another this is the fear that is felt about evangelism. It is the fear, not of Christ, but of things which it is thought Christians will insist upon bringing along with them. The anthropologist who bemoans the activities of missionaries among backward peoples, because in his view the missionary condemns indiscriminately all ancient custom, whether good or bad, and seeks to impose a veneer of civilized habit, is making the same objection. We must urge that the sole end and object of Christian evangelism is to lift up Jesus Christ, Son of Man and Son of God, to lead men and women into fellowship with Him, and in Him with one another, and that they must be left to formulate the expression of their faith and life in regard to national custom, culture, habit, government, and all other human affairs, according as they learn Christ for themselves.

If we admit some blame in the past in this regard, it is only fair to add that the missionary conscience has become gradually quickened in recent years in regard to this line of objection to evangelistic work. The anthropologist, who objects to missions on the ground that they rudely impose unnatural customs upon primitive peoples, must be unaware of the immense services rendered to the study of anthropology itself by missionaries who have gone deep into the heart of the life and customs of their people.

To the objection on its definitely political side the nationalist movements of the day, as will be seen later,

have made missionaries intensely alert. It is not a mere serving of the times but genuine conviction which inspires the innumerable assertions nowadays that Christianity in India or in China does not mean the imposition of a western civilization, but the lifting up of One who is not less for India and China than He is for Europe and America.

The other main line of objection proceeds only from those more subtle spirits who appreciate religious truth. It is the objection that evangelism involves a fundamental lack of respect for the personality of another. We do not question, it will be said, the sincerity of your belief in Christ, but your insistence on preaching Him to others means at bottom that you cannot conceive that anyone else can have religious experience equal to your own.

The views of Mr Gandhi are pertinent here, for he has been perhaps more prominent than any other man in India in deploring missionary proselytism, and it is in India that this type of objection is most felt.

Serious and religious-minded men like Mr Gandhi do not question the right of any man to change his religion and to profess another, should he be so led by honest conviction. That is not the point. When asked by a Christian, "May I not wish that my experience of God should be shared by my friends?" he answers, "Can an ant claim that her knowledge and experience should be the same as those of an elephant? Rather ask God to give your friend the fullness of His light and His knowledge, which are not necessarily those which He has given to you. We have the right to share our experience, but we cannot

be sure that it is the best. Our spiritual experience is communicated, whether we wish it or not, by our lives, not by our words, which are very incomplete instruments of transmission. Spiritual experience goes deeper than thought; it transmits itself naturally, and makes itself felt around us. The consciousness of possessing an experience which we should share with others leads to egotism; true spiritual experience is communicated like the scent of the rose."

Mr Gandhi rarely says anything without striking some chord of response in the Christian mind, and there is something in this with which we can agree. There are, however, two assumptions in it with which we cannot agree.

The assumption of the relativity of all religious experience is a part of that deeply-rooted Hindu objection to uniqueness and finality in religion with which we have already dealt. The Christian may well admit that his experience of Christ is imperfect, and that others may find in Christ more and better treasures than he has found. What he must continue to assert is that his experience of Christ is the experience of reality, and that it is in the knowledge of God in Christ that the soul finds satisfaction of its needs.

The other assumption needs to be faced very clearly. No one would deny that the knowledge of Christ can most powerfully be transmitted, and ought normally to be transmitted, by the lives and silent testimony, and not only by the words, of those who believe in Him. Dean Inge has lately pleaded:

What we most need in all our missionary work is a few saints—a few men who are really living such a

life as apostles of Christ ought to live, whose lives are a living testimony, not only that they believe what they teach, but that what they teach is the most holy and beautiful creed that could be believed and professed. That surely is the way in which from the very first our Lord both taught Himself and wished His religion to be propagated—by personal influence. . . . That is I believe the only way in which Christianity can really be transmitted.[1]

With the positive contention of Dean Inge no one can quarrel, but is it really true that there is no way of transmitting the knowledge of Christ save by the contagion of life and example? Is it really true that there is no support in the New Testament for preaching, or that the only Christian preaching is Christian life? Granted that preaching not supported by Christian living is the mere clanging of a gong, has not the utterance of the word its own peculiar place in Christianity?

It seems to us that Mr Gandhi's objection, which (apart from his insistence on the relative nature of Christian experience, with which, of course, the Dean would disagree) is really the same as Dean Inge's view, is based on an exaggeration of a truth. If we testify to Christ by life, do we then testify to no more than that which may be seen in our life? Were this so, surely we should be of all men the most miserable, for we should know in our hearts of the glory and beauty of our Master, greater far than we have appropriated or can express, and we should know that this glory was sealed to others except in so far as we could

[1] Quoted in *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 16.

make it real in our experience and example. Christianity is a religion of the Word, and it is a part of the glory of that Word that not only does it transcend the attainments of those who utter it, but it can be communicated to others, and can in their hearts be realized more fully and truly than perhaps it has been by those who utter it. Every preacher knows this, and it is for the peace of his soul that he knows it. St Paul says, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus our Lord," and to him this grace was given to declare among the Gentiles "the *unsearchable* riches of Christ."

VI

Our survey of the witnessing work of the Church in the world leads to two reflections with which we may close.

No evangelism is really in the name of Christ unless it is in the spirit of Christ; this is the fundamental principle which must underlie the whole of the discussion now being carried on all over the world on the nature of evangelistic work. Respect for the personality of others, insistence that for the accomplishment of a spiritual task such as conversion no means should be employed save such as are consonant with that spiritual end, the recognition that "the root in every man is Christ"—all this is vital to the power of the evangelistic work of the Church.

Further, the Christian witness, whether in word or in other forms of expression, must be supported by the Christian life. It is one of the dangers of modern

missions, with their development of specialized methods and their immense organization, that they may fail, not through lack of zeal, but through lack of leisure for prayer; not through want of thoroughness in work, but because missionaries have too little time to make friends. Those responsible for missionary policy must see to it that this all-important necessity is not forgotten. The far-reaching and manifold missionary work of the Church will be rendered ineffective if an increased activity is substituted for that leisure of the spirit, wherein alike the deepest human contacts are established and the human soul is renewed by the Divine grace.

CHAPTER VI

TEACHING THE NATIONS

I

CHRISTIAN missions have an enormous stake in the world of education. The World Missionary Atlas, published in 1925, shows that there were at that time in schools and colleges of all types controlled by non-Roman missions nearly two and a half million pupils. In 1907 the number was less than one and a half millions, so that it is obvious that there is not only an enormous field, but an enormous development. While some missionaries have kept somewhat aloof from educational work, devoting themselves solely to the work of evangelism in the narrower sense, most of the well-established missions have become deeply involved in the work of education, and use a large proportion of their staff for it. So much is this the case that much criticism is aroused. Questions are asked as to the policy which missions are following in education, the justification for the large expenditure both of staff and of money in missionary education, the dangers of becoming involved in secular systems of education, and the risk of a diminution of evangelistic zeal. We shall in this chapter survey some of the main issues which confront the Christian educator in different parts of the world, and endeavour to gather from a

study of the work that is actually going on some coherent view of the case for Christian education in the world to-day, and of the particular needs now to be met.

Missionary education has, with all its varieties, sprung from two separate but allied motives. We have noticed already that at a very early point in missionary development the building up of the Church is seen to be a primary necessity, and there is almost no missionary organization in the world, however indisposed to be involved in educational policies, which has not recognized that education is a necessary means to this end. There is, further, the evangelistic motive: education has been seen by some of the greatest missionaries in the world as a part of the whole movement of carrying the Gospel to mankind. Either as a part of the upbuilding of the Church or as a part of the carrying of the Gospel, missionary education throughout the world can be summed up.

II

The educational system of India, though more elaborately developed than in most countries outside Europe and America, is the subject of acute criticism and debate. It is pointed out that, while the proportion of students in universities to the whole population is as high in some provinces of India as it is in Great Britain, the proportion of pupils in elementary schools is incomparably lower. It is said again that the type of education given, not only in government schools, but in most schools acknowledged by the government,

is hopelessly unsuited to the true development of the people. The non-co-operation movement saw the birth of a number of " national " schools, owing nothing to the recognized government system, but they proved totally ineffective in the production of any new educational methods. Not here, but in such institutions as Tagore's famous school at Santiniketan in Bengal, or the school of the Arya Samaj at Hardwar, may real attempts be seen to discover an education more truly related to Indian life.

Christian missions have had a great share in Indian education. The pioneer of education as a missionary method was Alexander Duff, who helped to persuade Lord William Bentinck that education in English, rather than in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, should receive the full weight of government support, and to whom more truly than to Macaulay is due the credit of that decision. Duff held that the true life of India, that is, the life of caste India, ought not to be approached only by direct and often ineffective methods of evangelism, but also (and he would have said rather) by influencing the foundations on which it is built. He and his friends understood less of the inner power of the Hindu system than is known now, and they honestly believed that the dissemination of western science, history, philosophy, and literature would act so destructively upon the ideas of Hinduism that, as Macaulay said, " In thirty years' time there will not be an idolater left in Bengal."

The hopes of the pioneers of missionary higher education were not fully realized, but they were by no means proved vain. The tremendous influence of

Christian education on the life and thought of modern India is plain to all who know anything of Indian life. That there has been spread among the educated classes some knowledge of the principles of Jesus, and that in consequence Hindu standards of thought and life have been to some extent Christianized, is a matter of common witness. Duff was right in thinking that an education inspired by Christian principles must prove inimical to the polytheism of popular Hinduism. His hope that the Christian faith would, through the agency of education, supplant it, has been frustrated in measure by two influences. On the one hand, for many minds in India, as in other parts of the world, the alternative to a discredited popular faith has been found in secularism. On the other hand, the volume of nationalist feeling, itself in part a fruit of the intensified unity of India made possible by the dissemination of English, has invested Hinduism with an attractiveness not strictly religious, but none the less powerful.

Missionary colleges to-day are faced in India with a variety of difficulties. It has been their tradition to expand within the official system of education, accepting government grants and prescribed curricula. Competition in academic efficiency in the narrow sense has become greater and greater ; institutions controlled and managed by government have a much larger share of the educational resources of the country than is bestowed upon private institutions, and the generosity of individuals has greatly increased the number of Hindu, Mohammedan, and other colleges and schools. The Christian college, often with very

slender resources, is faced with the task of maintaining an adequate academic level in a world of continually rising standards. This has led in some institutions to a situation of altogether impossible strain. Some colleges have too many students for the Christian and missionary staff to know in any personal and intimate way, with the result that the fundamental purpose of the college, which is to make real in word and life the Christian message, is not fulfilled. In this respect the schools and colleges for girls and women (a type of work in which missions have done wonderful work in India) are much superior to those for boys and men.

Probably the way out lies in the direction of greater concentration. There are not a few areas in India where it seems highly probable that better work, both from the point of view of the fundamental Christian aim of the schools and of their academic standing, would be done if one first-rate united institution replaced two, three, or four ill-staffed and struggling schools. The motive of such concentration ought not to be sought in the desire to save money, though there are cases where this would be achieved. The real motive should be the desire to secure an educational instrument more suitable to the fundamental aim of the Christian educator, which is to help his pupils to understand and appropriate the Christian way of thought and life. It may be added that probably only in united institutions, strong enough in staff and resources to make experiments, is there hope of a more flexible curriculum being achieved.

There is here a great opportunity for the missionary school and college. The growth of Hindu and Moham-

medan institutions is a testimony to the desire of India for an education based on religion. The government system is perhaps inevitably secular, but no secular system of education can ever bring fullness of life to a nation. There are many signs that if the missionary forces should find a way of creating in India the kind of schools which their own best leaders most earnestly desire to have, they will be met with a response from the finest life of India which would amaze them.

Elementary education we have seen to be of proportionately smaller development in India than higher education. Educationally the principal reason for this is that the elementary or middle school has not been seen as a thing existing in its own right, but principally as the ante-chamber of the high school and college. The existing elementary schools are the object of a happy unanimity of criticism on the part of all who consider them. A government educational official said to the present writer, "We have in this province forty-eight thousand schools, mostly bad." The Commission on Village Education in India,[1] which reported to the missionary societies of Britain and America in 1919, found that nearly half of the pupils who had been in the bottom classes of vernacular primary schools had relapsed, after five years, into complete illiteracy. The schools were not attractive to the children, seemed futile to the parents, were expensive and unproductive in the eyes of government, and profoundly disappointing to the missionary.

[1] For the Report of this Commission see *Village Education in India.*

The advances made by missionary educators in India in recent years in regard to village schools are worthy of note. In all parts of India there are groups of missionaries and Indian Christians who are taking such dynamic ideas as " education by life " and relating them to the life of the Indian village community. The school work carried on at Moga [1] in the Punjab has been very widely studied, and it is not too much to say that the methods of teacher-training developed there have been copied by both government officials and private educators in all parts of India. We shall refer later to the singular correspondence which appears to exist between the Christian ideal of life and the principles arrived at by at least a substantial proportion of modern educators. We know of no more striking instance of this correspondence than the Indian village school question. It is a remarkable thing that it should have fallen so largely to the missionary village educator, in his effort to find a genuinely Christian education for the village, to discover something which seems to the Hindu or Mohammedan observer to be that which he also desires his country to have.[2]

III

It has been remarked by a Chinese that China does not understand the Church, but does understand the school. Whether the former statement is correct we

[1] See article in *International Review of Missions*, " Rural Education in India," W. J. McKee, July 1923.

[2] See *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education*, published by the Association Press for the National Christian Council of India.

do not presume to say, but that the Chinese genius attaches the highest importance to the school all history is a witness. One of the most attractive and remarkable features of Chinese life is the reverence paid to the scholar. While the day of the scholar deeply versed in the ancient classics has been obscured, the great influence of students in Chinese affairs—an influence surely paralleled in no other country—indicates something of the place held by learning in the mind of the people. The present development of education in China dates from the aftermath of the Boxer rising. The reformation of 1901-4, particularly the decrees regarding education, were of far-reaching effect. A system of public instruction of the most extensive sort was drafted. Universities, technical schools, and lower schools were designed, and young Chinese began to turn their faces towards the countries of the West to learn what they could teach. The influence of the missionary school and college in the early days of this educational renaissance was obviously great. The long years of sowing the seed, when things foreign still appeared in the eyes of Chinese to be contemptible, bore their fruit when under the new conditions all China wanted the modern learning. The mission school and college were everywhere the best exemplars available of the desired culture.

Christian education has been a powerful factor in modern China, both in the lower and middle schools scattered all over the country, and in the colleges and Christian universities maintained by the mission boards, usually in co-operation, such as the Yenching

University of Peking, the Lingnan University of Canton, and the great institutions at Tsinanfu, Hankow, Foochow, Shanghai, and other centres.

The widespread influence of these institutions brought with it a certain penalty. It is said that the publication in 1922 of the Report of the China Educational Commission (a body which reported on missionary education in China to the missionary boards of America and Great Britain) first revealed to the Chinese patriotic mind the great extent of missionary education, and suggested to those who were jealous of foreign cultural domination the presence, all unsuspected, of a great national enemy.

Since the development of the recent national uprising in China, the position of Christian missionary schools and colleges has been one of the most important issues between the different Chinese governments and the Christian Church. There has been a powerful anti-Christian movement which would wish to see Christians forbidden to conduct schools at all. To some extent this merges in an anti-religious movement which desires to see education purely secular. The bulk of responsible Chinese opinion, however, appears neither to be convinced of the necessity of secularism, nor hostile to Christianity as such. It is, however, clearly convinced that the schools of China, whether in part staffed by foreigners or not, must not be used as bases for proselytism. The late Northern Government enacted that any school, in order to be registered, must not make any religious teaching or worship obligatory, and must declare that the

purpose of the school was not a religious purpose. The Southern Government, now *de facto* the government of the whole of China, equally demanded that there should be no compulsion in religious observance or teaching, but asked only that the purpose of the school should be stated in the application for registration. Both alike insisted that the head of every registered school must be a Chinese, and that if a Chinese were not actually head, some Chinese on the staff should be regarded, from the point of view of government, as officially principal.

Chinese delegates at Jerusalem, who included in their number several men of high rank in Chinese education, held that " there can be no serious question but that Christian schools will have a permanent and important place in the life of China in the future. By their emphasis on character-building and the instilling of Christian principles of conduct they are in a position to render a distinctive and needed service." In their opinion the particular contribution of Christian education in China has been its emphasis on the education of women and girls, its pioneer work in bringing modern scientific training and modern medicine to China, its work in the application of science to the rural needs of China, its emphasis on athletics and healthful recreation, and its attack on illiteracy through mass education. These were specific educational contributions made by Christian missions ; in addition, these Chinese held that Christian education had in many ways stimulated the social conscience of the people, had raised up able leaders of wide influence, and in spite of the difficulties through which the nation was

passing, had contributed to the moral and spiritual development of Chinese character.[1]

It is probable, as a recent investigator remarks, that " a great future for Christian education in China lies before us." [2] China, like other countries which are in the full swing of the modern revolution, wants those things which the modern world counts to be strength ; but she also wants, as her best men know, moral leadership adequate to a changing situation, in which, as we have seen, much of the old morality seems to be irrelevant. As in India, the proportion of education which the Christian and missionary forces can undertake in China will grow numerically less as the resources of the state are more fully employed. But there is no reason why Christian schools and colleges, embodying the Christian ideal of education, should not be recognized as a valuable part of the education of China. If this end is to be attained, the initiative and leadership of Chinese Christian educators must be used to the full, and happily there is every sign that this will be the case. One of the most experienced missionaries in China testifies to the high level of ability shown by Chinese Christians who have, sometimes under conditions of great difficulty, been forced into positions of authority and responsibility during the recent troubles.

[1] F. H. Hawkins, *International Review of Missions*, July 1928.
[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. II., pp. 162-3.

IV

Africa to-day presents an educational opportunity hardly to be paralleled in history. The African people have, since the eighties of the last century, become largely subject to the domination of European powers. There has come about a vast conflict between the ancient tribal organizations, with their social life and moral sanctions, and the new influences brought in by government, by trade and commerce, by the settler and the planter, by European war on African soil, and by the many diverse influences which have been a part of the gift of the white man to Africa.

This contact of old and new forms the setting of education in Africa, and within it a very significant change is now taking place. Until quite recently almost all the schools for African natives have been conducted by Christian missions, whether in South or West or East Africa. Over ninety per cent of the African boys and girls who have received any schooling at all have received it through the medium of Christian organizations. But this situation is now changing, and governments, notably the British government, are giving increasingly closer attention to educational problems. Those who are well acquainted with Belgian and French Africa, however, remind us that it is not only in British Africa that educational policies are being framed, and educational reforms and developments carried out. If therefore we deal with British Africa, it is not only because the most clear-cut policy of advance has been introduced there,

but partly also because the phenomena are more familiar.

The British Colonial Office in 1925 issued a memorandum in which a far-reaching development in policy was outlined. Government, it was said, " welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy." It goes on to point out that " the policy of encouragement of voluntary effort in education has as its corollary the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard." It states explicitly that, provided the required standard of educational efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by government itself. The memorandum lays the strongest emphasis on the training of character, and on the importance of religion in education.

Since contact with civilization—and even education itself—must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African, it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened, and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects.

The aim of education should be

to render the individual more efficient in his or her

condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service.[1]

The memorandum affords an adequate basis for the collaboration of government and missions in the building up of an education truly adapted to the needs of the African people, and affords a hope, provided that the missionary forces can produce the men and women needed, that financial resources more adequate than private generosity can provide will become available. The most powerful influence which has affected the educational policy of Africa in recent years has undoubtedly been the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions to South, West, and East Africa in 1920-24. Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, the Chairman of these Commissions, has preached with the fervour of a prophet the doctrine that " consciousness of community should govern all education," and as the four fundamental elements of the life of a community, he singles out (1) health and sanitation, (2) appreciation and use of the environment, (3) the household and the home, and (4) re-creation, that is, mental, moral, and spiritual development. These principles have been embodied perhaps more effectively than anywhere else in the great negro institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee in the southern states of America, and there are few things in modern history so moving as the thought

[1] *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa.*

that educational methods hammered out by men like Booker Washington, himself the son of a slave among a people descended from slaves, should now be re-creating the education of the African continent, whence those slaves were forcibly torn.

The Gold Coast Colony, with its new and great college at Achimota, under the inspiring leadership of A. G. Fraser, has perhaps gone further than any other colony in the realization of this new policy. Whether through missions or through government, it is clear that there is a great sphere for Christian education in Africa, and one which demands as much educational science, ability, leadership, and patient labour as any in the world. Mankind will be profoundly affected by what happens in the next fifty years in Africa, and it may well be that the centre of the life of Africa, as she labours out of the darkness of the past into the new world which needs her riches, will be the Christian school.

V

Reference has been made elsewhere to the remarkable changes which in recent years have come over the countries of the Near East, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and others, in their relation to modern culture. An intense conflict is raging in these lands between the conservatism of orthodox Islam and the secularizing tendencies, combined in some cases with a keen nationalism, which have come with the modern spirit. The spirit of modern Turkey may be seen in the fact that the Angora government

abolished the old system of Islamic religious schools (Medresehs), which prepared religious leaders and teachers for the mosques, and has made education in all Turkish schools purely secular. On the other hand, there is enthusiasm for education as an essential means for the liberation and strengthening of the Turkish national life. " Weakness is the mother of all calamities. Strength teaches a man responsibility, self-confidence, and how to protect his rights. This will be our aim and principle for all our education in the coming years," [1] said the Minister of Education in 1923 ; and another official said about the same time : " We are in the stage of nationalism. Our educational aims will be humanitarian, but at the same time very nationalistic. In place of an artificial education, a civilized and liberal education ; in place of old cosmopolitan elements, the modernized gentleman Turk. . . . We cannot remain attached to traditions and conservatism. They do not enter into our modernized programme." [2] There are repeated declarations, both official and unofficial, that the Turkish government is committed to the principle of complete religious liberty, and that students are not to be prevented from pursuing the study of such sciences as run counter to Moslem tradition.

In Egypt, the famous El Azhar University, dedicated to Moslem studies, has found its supplies of students dropping heavily, and is now to be modernized, while the universities which give the modern learning of the

[1] Quoted in the *International Review of Missions*, April 1926, pp. 184-5.
[2] *Ibid.*

West are crowded. The same spirit and desire for education interpreted as the avenue to liberty and national strength, combined with an aversion from religion in education, is found throughout the whole of the Mohammedan lands of the Near East—in Persia, whose policy, though unstable, seems to be directed towards secularism, and in Syria.

The task of Christian higher education in the Near East has fallen mainly to American missions, and the great colleges at Constantinople, Smyrna, Beyrout, and Cairo find that, though their path is beset by much insecurity, they have great opportunities before them. In particular, the institutions in Turkey are ministering to more Turks than ever before, for the transportation of the non-Turkish populations has removed many who formerly attended the schools conducted by the missions, and Turkish students have come in their place.

In Turkey there is a strict prohibition of any religious instruction, whether voluntary or compulsory, during school hours, and in buildings recognized as school buildings. The Turkish government is determined that the schools shall not be used as instruments of proselytism, though in theory the teachers are not prevented from conversing on religious topics with their pupils out of school hours. The situation is unstable, and this is easily understood when it is remembered that the Turks are struggling to reconcile two strong desires, one for the abolition of the conservative inhibiting influence of traditional religion in education, the other for a vigorous education such as will strengthen and edify national life.

VI

The importance of education in the work of the Christian world mission is surely obvious. It is necessary if the Church as it grows up in the different countries is to be strong. Again, it affords an intimate touch with the most vigorous and progressive forces in national life. All who know the countries of the mission field are aware that no class of men have done such valuable work as interpreters of the West to the growing intelligence of the East, and of the ideals of the East to the West, as have the educational missionaries. And even more overwhelming is the immense importance of education if the Christian Gospel and way of life are to win these great peoples.

This is the real argument for missionary education. There is no fundamental antithesis between education and evangelism. The Church of Christ is faced by great peoples moving out of ancient ways and customs into a new world, whose life they are eagerly trying to assimilate. The commending of the Christian ideal and the communication of the Christian spirit to these nations can only be done by a comprehensive work of education, and it is of the highest importance that this fact should be clearly apprehended.

It is plain, moreover, that all over the world missionary education has been to a unique degree responsible for the emancipation of women. One of the most impressive features of the Jerusalem meeting was the unanimous and enthusiastic witness of the women delegates to the influence of Christ upon the women of the world. In country after country it is the mission

school which has first, and for a long time alone, taken up the task of the education of girls and women, and in this fact we see the reflection in practice of one of the fundamental aspects of the teaching of Jesus.

Further, we can see the value of the mission school not only in itself, but as a part of the wider system of national education which is growing up in almost all countries. There is a tendency in many lands for such national systems to become dangerously standardized, and in proportion as the government in any land is awake to the importance of education in the national life, the beginnings of educational advance are likely to be accompanied by the attempt to enforce a unified type. The mission school, wherever possible, loyally working with the general national system, ought to form, and ought to be allowed to form, a variety within it. Such variety is educationally not only desirable, but necessary. There is great danger to national life when national education runs too much in one mould, and in introducing an element of difference and standing for a particular ideal of education, Christian schools are incidentally conserving a principle of great importance for the education of the countries in which they work.

The danger of secularism, and the attraction of the ideal of a complete severance between religion and education, are only too obvious in recent developments throughout the world. India is on the whole an exception to this, and may continue to be so, but even in India there are powerful tendencies towards the exclusion of religion from education as a traditional and conservative element.

On the other hand, and in spite of the fear of schools being used for proselytism, there is, as we have seen, a desire that education may be the means of building up national character. Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, Turks, Egyptians and Africans do not want education only because of the technical power which comes in the wake of knowledge. They want also the building up of national character, and have the hope, often vague enough, that through education this ideal may be attained. A recent writer on Indian education has expressed, forcibly and clearly, the fundamental reasons for the weakness of any education which lacks religious spirit, and thereby fails to touch the deeper elements in a people's life.[1]

Out of this medley of movement and influence, does any general view arise? Broadly speaking, the peoples of Asia and Africa are crying out for an education which will mean liberty and strength. They may be afraid of proselytism, but they want character; they may be anti-religious, but that is often because the religion they know is a barrier to all that they desire. The Christian Church in its approach to them realizes the immense importance of education not less than they do. In the long run Christian education cannot be carried on without the consent of the peoples to whom it is given. Is it possible that what the aspiring educators of the new countries desire is in any way harmonious with what the educational mind of Christendom also desires?

[1] See Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India*, a book of the highest importance.

VII

We have spoken more than once of "truly Christian education," or the "true ideals of education." What are they? One of the weakest points in the work of Christian missions has been precisely that to which so much importance must attach, the teaching of religion. The Chinese Christian Education Commission reported in 1922 "that very often the courses on religion and the Bible are the poorest that are offered," and that "mission schools fail oftener here than in mathematics or science."[1] More than one reason can be given for this acknowledged widespread inefficiency of religious teaching in Christian schools and colleges. Education in religion is sometimes confused with religious instruction, and even nowadays a distressingly large amount of time is spent in conveying instruction to children in such a way as to have almost no effect upon their lives, and to be a positive hindrance to their appreciation of the inner meaning of religion. A delegate from India, at Jerusalem, spoke of the child who, during the hour of religious instruction, would answer to the question, "Who was the wisest man in the world?"—"Solomon"; but during the other hours of the week would answer to the same question, "Solon." This is an amusing instance of the purely artificial effects of a certain type of religious instruction that has nothing to do with the realities of life, and nothing to do with religion.

Then, as the China Commission suggests, religion is

[1] *Christian Education in China*, Sections 483, 612.

often taught by methods which would not be employed in the teaching of secular subjects. Sometimes it is to be feared that this may be due to the fact that competition enforces a higher standard in secular subjects than is reached in religious teaching, where such competition is absent. A large advance in religious education has been made in recent years in the West, but the experience gained has not yet in anything like an adequate degree been made available for the Churches of the mission field.

What then is the meaning of Christian education? We cannot do better than consider the example of our Lord.[1]

Jesus Christ was called most often by His disciples a Teacher, and we notice that in Him the contrast between teaching and preaching does not exist. His aim is always one and the same, that He may enable men to be so set free from self-regard, so filled with love for God and their fellows, that they may themselves enter into the very life of the Eternal. As He reveals to them these qualities embodied in Himself, they find in Him the very incarnation of God. In Him they are at one with the eternal Reality of the universe, and therefore at one in themselves and with one another. In His teaching we see three chief notes. He is concerned with *life*, with the development of persons. He enlightens the disciples' minds by enlarging their outlook, rather than by formal lessons.

[1] In this section we follow mainly the thought and sometimes the language of the statement on religious education adopted by the Jerusalem meeting, *cf. Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. II., p. 220 *et seq.*

He uses the method of *freedom.* He never forces upon His hearers what they have not ears to hear; they are free to assimilate or to reject. His teaching is given in the atmosphere of *fellowship* within the community of His followers, who share with Him a way of life, and in their contact with Him and one another find that their individuality has expanded.

Our Lord's method " in its emphasis upon positive rather than negative, in its purpose of assisting growth, in its insistence upon the discovery and sharing of experience," is remarkably similar to the methods reached by modern educators, many of whom have come to their conclusions without any conscious reference to Christian or religious standards. An American association of educators defined the objective of education as follows:

1. To promote the development of an understanding and adequate evaluation of the self.
2. To promote the development of an understanding and an appreciation of the world of nature.
3. To promote the development of an understanding and an appreciation of organized society.
4. To promote the development of an appreciation of the force of law, and of love, that is operating universally.

The individual self, nature, society, and God—these four, and in particular the adjustments which the individual self must make—constitute the objectives of education.[1]

We find educational thought everywhere laying immense emphasis upon the social nature of education,

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report,* Vol. II., p. 15.

and the necessity of education being directed to the improvement of community life. Education, being concerned with persons, has two foci—the child and the environment in which and for which the child lives. The old education was centred in the body of knowledge to be transmitted: the new is centred in the child.

It would not, of course, be pretended that all modern educational theory and practice is Christian. On the contrary, it may be associated with secularism and materialism, and in the thought and work of some educationists it is so associated. But the conception of education which has come to the world through the educational researches of the last two generations is fundamentally much nearer to the Christian way of life than the older type of education, and serves sometimes to recall to Christians values and methods which they may clearly discern in the work and teaching of Christ, but which are largely absent from much of what is called Christian education.

The Christian educator must, as Christ was, be concerned primarily with persons, and with the salvation of persons so that they may attain the fullness and completion of life. That salvation is related to a revelation of God which is given to men objectively. Christians cannot agree with any theory of education which regards it as "a voyage of discovery through uncharted seas";[1] yet the antipathy of many educators towards the introduction of anything dogmatic into education is in part a protest against the wrong way of presenting that fundamental objec-

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. II., p. 47.

tive reality to which salvation, as we have seen, is related. "The supreme task of Christian education is to discover means of bringing those whom it seeks to help into vital contact with the spiritual realities revealed in Jesus Christ and in the living fellowship of those in whom His Spirit dwells." [1]

Again, the Christian educator will find in the thought of the will of God, in the all-embracing conception of the Kingdom and the ideals of service which are related to it, that dominating interest which life needs if it is to be saved from the futility of divided courses. Here the Christian teaching and the emphasis of educators on a "single wide interest" come very close together. The educators' emphasis on the community and on the atmosphere of the society as the medium of learning is strongly echoed in all that Christians believe about the Church and the world-wide communion of which they must realize that they are a part.

Probably it is in dealing with the effect of sin that the ideals of modern education are most divergent from those of Christianity, but even here, in bringing home the reality of sin to the mind and to the heart, modern studies in psychology have much to give to the Christian teacher.

Two things become clear. The first is that educational science, proceeding very largely without regard to the thought and experience of the Church, has arrived at conclusions regarding the method and spirit of education which are nearly akin to the method and spirit which we find in the teaching of our Lord. In

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. II., p. 48.

the second place, we find it admitted, by those most intimately concerned, that a part of the weakness of Christian education has been due to the fact that it comprises too much instruction and too little education, and that it fails just in so far as it seeks to convey the fact of Christ and the reality of the Christian spirit by ways which are not congruous with the spirit of the Master.

Needless to say, such a conception of education as has been outlined here does not apply only to the school. It is not less applicable to the home and to the Church. The truths contained in it affect or underlie the whole transmission of the Christian message by word and life through every medium, individual and corporate. One of the great resources which has been uncovered to the minds of our day lies here. If we believe in the providential ordering of the world at all, it surely cannot be wrong to perceive a Divine purpose for the Church in the provision of this great and enriching instrument of life.

VIII

The conclusion to which this discussion tends may be briefly stated, though the implications of it are extraordinarily far-reaching.

We believe that *religion is an essential factor in education.* If modern educated leaders in the East have been dazzled by the attractions of modern science, and are tempted to think that vocational instruction alone will bring in the millennium, they will be led by the best educational minds of the world to realize that

they are wrong, and that fullness of personality can only be attained by the appreciation of æsthetic, intellectual, and moral ideals, as well as by the acquisition of technical ability. This aim can only be achieved, as educators are themselves beginning to admit, by the relation of the whole personality to some all-inclusive ideal, which for Christians may simply be defined as God, and the kingdom of God revealed in Jesus. Christians therefore, in standing for the place of religion in education, are not urging in the spirit of sectaries that something alien to education should be included in it. They are pleading for true education. The schools and colleges which they carry on should embody more perfectly than any others the best ideals of education.

We realize also the importance of *the place of education in religion.* Education as we have defined it is not an activity technical in nature and separate from the rest of Christian activity. It is a guiding principle for all Christian activity. Not only must the religious education that is carried on in Christian schools and colleges be redeemed and enriched by the truer standards which are latent in Christian principle and which are endorsed, as we have seen, by educational science; the same great principles of life and growth are applicable to the whole work of preaching the Gospel and building up the Church.

Religious education cannot be confined to any one subject in the curriculum, method of presentation, period of life, or type of environment. All that fosters the development of personality and fits it for the service of mankind, mathematics and science, litera-

ture, art and handicraft, has its appropriate place: and the Christian school exists to teach them as part of its religious task. Nor is instruction alone sufficient: the sharing in worship, the expression of faith in acts of service, the fellowship of play and of the common life must enter into our teaching. . . . The process cannot begin nor end in the school: in the home and the community the foundations on which the teacher must build have already been laid: the structure on which he has laboured will only be completed in a life-time: the Church as much as the college, adults no less than children, are concerned with it: all should be occupied in Christian educational work. The whole fellowship of Christians through every agency that they possess should realize the importance of this duty, and their responsibility for its faithful discharge.[1]

IX

We are confronted with an immense sphere of service in the work of Christian education throughout the world. The difficulties which the exigencies of revolution and national uprising have created in certain lands will not be seen ultimately to alter the grounds of this optimistic judgment. It is based upon a fundamental analysis. The leaders of the peoples are earnestly desiring liberty and strength. We find that the best educational thought of the world points out as the avenue to liberty and strength for individual and community a path on which Christians believe they can help, as no others can, the growing generation throughout the world to walk. There cannot but be a great field for the Christian school.

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. II., pp. 227–8.

The embracing of this opportunity demands, however, the determination to build up schools truly worthy of the Christian name, and fully impregnated with the Christian spirit. It calls for the best that the Church has to give in the way of educational science. It demands the choicest men and women to give themselves to this service.

CHAPTER VII

"FIELD, FACTORY, AND WORKSHOP"

I

THE whole argument of this book is that life in the truest and fullest sense of the word is the gift of God in Christ, and is only to be enjoyed through Him. What is the nature of that life which Jesus Christ came to give? It is spiritual life, for Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and the acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord means that a man places faith, hope, and love, and the things of the Spirit, above any of the joys which can be given by the material order of things.

Christianity is a spiritual religion, but it is not spiritual in the sense that it regards the material either as entirely evil or as entirely illusory. For the Christian, the spiritual world is to be the master of the material world, but it is to be expressed in and through the material world. This is what many people call the sacramental principle; it is fundamental to the Christian view of life. Christianity does not preach a salvation which involves escaping from or ignoring the world in which we live. We have seen how evil have been the results of the belief held so widely in different forms that the universe of daily experience is an illusion. Such a belief cuts the nerve of moral

effort for social reform, and there is no more fatal barrier to the efforts of a nation towards a higher standard of life for the average man, or the removal of gross evils in social life, than this thought of *maya*.[1]

Christians are committed to an entirely different mode of thought. Our Lord's prayer, "Thy will be done, in earth as it is in Heaven," is a condemnation of all attempts to represent the Christian way of life as entirely other-worldly. The Christian is concerned with the redemption of the human environment, so that it may both minister to the growth of the spirit and adequately reflect and enshrine the values of the spirit.

Moreover, the Gospel is preached in the world through the medium of the divine society. But the divine society is not a community of disembodied spirits. It is, as militant in the world, a body of men and women and children living in the world's life and sharing its joys and sorrows, its prosperity and adversity. The growth and stability of the Christian Church are therefore conditioned, as we see daily in every country in the world, by the wider environment of life. We have here another reason why the Christian world mission must be concerned not only with the saving of men's souls, but with the redeeming of man, body and soul together, into a more abundant life.

We shall return to this argument, but first it will be well to consider some of the actual facts which must be faced if we are to deal worthily with the subject.

[1] See p. 30.

II

The great mass of the population of Asia and Africa lives in villages. Three-fifths of the whole human race is directly dependent upon farming for its daily bread. In Asia there are some seven hundred and fifty million people who live in villages, and almost the whole of the one hundred and thirty million people in Africa live under rural conditions. In India nine-tenths of the people live in the villages ; in China much the same. Again, in Korea nine-tenths of the people live in the villages, and in Japan, which is much more industrialized than either India or China, even now more than half the population live in the country. If, therefore, we are to consider at all the relation of expanding world Christianity to the environment and conditions of life of the ordinary man, it is evident at the first glance that these conditions are predominantly rural.

Beside this rural character of the life of Asia and Africa, we must put the less obvious but established fact, the decline of the village. This is in varying degrees a phenomenon present over enormous areas of Asia and Africa, and it offers a problem which the Christian missionary cannot ignore.

The poverty of the villager of Asia is appalling. Africa is not so poor, for her population is exceedingly small in relation to the enormous area of the African continent, and some parts of Africa contain highly prosperous rural communities. Figures of average income are notoriously hard to reach, and in India, for which figures are more readily available than for

most countries, the estimates differ. Mr K. T. Paul gave the average gross income of a Madras peasant, on which he has to feed his whole family, as $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day—say about 5d.; while the prison authorities of India estimate that 3.4 annas per day per person is the minimum sum on which health can be maintained.[1] Figures lower than these can be given for other provinces in India, and it is a well known fact that scores of millions of the population of India are always hungry.

There can be little question that for the great mass of the inhabitants of India, distress and hunger are no further from them to-day than they were of old. . . . . Plague and famine, and all the many ills of India find still to-day a people the great bulk of whom go down the precipice at the first touch of calamity.[2]

Meanwhile, the population of India has increased by fifty per cent in the last hundred years, and the pressure on the soil grows daily greater, accentuated by the tiny holdings which are in vogue in many parts of the country. Dr Brunner estimates that a majority of the farmers of Asia are seeking to sustain family life on a holding of less than two and a half acres of arable land.

The poverty of the village has beyond doubt been accentuated in recent years by the drawing of the Asiatic countries into the whole world scheme of economic values. The mill and factory are killing the small village handicrafts, and are driving the craftsman either into the factory as a labourer, or into the

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. VI., p. 280.
[2] N. Macnicol, *The Making of Modern India*, p. 7.

ranks of the workers in the fields. At the same time the steady improvement of means of communication is giving the ordinary villager a sense of new needs and wants.

Along with poverty goes debt, which is the common problem of the agriculturists of all Asia, from the west of India to the east of Japan. The village money-lender is a familiar feature of the landscape in India, and it appears that he is a not less familiar phenomenon in other parts of rural Asia. Dr Mann, in his studies of a Deccan village,[1] estimated that the average debt of the household worked out at Rs. 13 (£1) per acre, interest ranging from twelve to seventy-two per cent. In Korea Dr Brunner found that even in Christian families two out of every five were in debt, to an average extent of sixty *yen*, on which they were paying an average of thirty per cent interest.[2] Many a village missionary and village pastor has become almost heart-broken at the way in which the people become so used to debt that even when they have escaped from it they will pile up a fresh load.

Why is the village suffering this decline? The reasons are fairly clear. The influence of the industrial revolution is making itself felt. It is seen not only in the steady growth of the factory population in India, China, and Japan, but in the way in which the dweller in the village is now brought into touch with the town, and tends to fall a victim to its meretricious lure. The farmer or village worker uses the products of the mill, and his desire for them is

[1] H. H. Mann, *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village.*
[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. VI., p. 131.

quickened by the ubiquitous advertising to which Asia is becoming not less a victim than Europe and America. The village crafts, as we have seen, tend to decline before the pressure of mill industry. Perhaps this need not have been, but it could only have been prevented by the rapid development of co-operative methods of marketing among the village craftsmen, and it was impossible for them to develop these methods in time.

The city, again, offers higher wages than the village, and the wide diffusion of the city products has created new desires for the money which will buy them. The lure of high wages, high in relation to the terribly low average rural income, is deceptive, for the costs of living are much higher in a city like Bombay or Shanghai or Kobe than in the village, and the conditions of life are on the whole far worse. Nevertheless the "high" wages continue to attract.

It may be said that the gradual industrialization of the world is inevitable, and that it is foolish to try in any way to arrest it. Are there any reasons why Christians should lend a hand in the effort to revive and rehabilitate village life? Surely with the literature of the world before us we cannot doubt that it would be a poorer world if the distinctive values of country life were lost. It is not only among Englishmen that the most treasured and sacred memories of life are associated more with the country than with the town. The Indian villager, coolie, lawyer, or government servant may go to the city to pursue his fortune, but he will come back to the village to die. The popular dramas which are played in the cities of India

continually refer to the iniquity of the life of the city, and the virtue of the simpler life lived in the countryside. This is not mere sentiment. The farmer producing food for mankind can realize, and in his silent way perhaps does realize, his working together with God more than most men, because he may plant and water, but God gives the increase.[1] He may become a fatalist, or he may be helped by his very environment into a deep and simple faith in God.

Is it possible to do anything to raise the level of the life lived by the ordinary villager? Perhaps we can hardly say that even now much is being done, but at least much is being attempted, and in the attempt Christian missions are playing a not unworthy part. The establishment, for instance, of co-operative credit banks in villages has been fraught with the greatest advantage to the people. These societies were begun principally with the object of procuring lower rates of interest for the farmer and freeing him from the clutch of the moneylender. They still perform this function, but thousands of them now have a broader scope, and engage in co-operative marketing, the furtherance of irrigation projects, the consolidation of agricultural plots, and other things to which the hopeful mind of the villager, given new confidence by co-operation, turns. It is significant that in several countries, notably in India, Christian missions and bodies like the Y.M.C.A. should have taken so large a share in the pioneering of co-operation, for this movement is an excellent example of an economic weapon which has a definitely moral basis. It depends

[1] Dr Butterfield, *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. VI., p. 277.

on the mutual confidence and trust of the village people, and by depending on these things it fosters them. A woman missionary, who with her husband pioneered co-operative credit in a most poverty-stricken region of India, writes :

Where the banks are working changes are coming over Indian village life, slowly as it seems to us, but actually quickly when we remember how very slow the evolution of such life has been. The congregation looks a trifle cleaner, and more self-respecting. The women are tidier, and Church contributions are increasing, and there is an inclination to admit that a degree of education is of value, even if it does not immediately justify itself by bringing in a salary. And all these advances we find centre round the members of the bank, who are invariably also leaders in the Church. We have therefore good reason to look to the banks for leaders who would tackle the other problems of village life.[1]

Again, something is being done, and more can be done, to improve the methods of agriculture. Only experts have a right to a judgment about this, and some hold that the methods evolved by the silent experience of the farmers of India and China through several thousand years are likely to be better adapted to the climatic conditions of those great countries than the scientific methods of the West. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the East has much to learn from the agricultural science of the West, and agricultural colleges or departments, such as those at Nanking, or Allahabad, are doing much to demon-

[1] Mrs Wilkie Brown, in the *National Christian Council Review* (India), February 1927.

strate the possibilities which lie before the ordinary cultivator in the use of better seed, better tools, and better methods of work. Wherever missions have taken up this type of service they have always found the most cordial support, both from government and from private bodies.

Along with improved agriculture will go the development of the accessories of agriculture, and of the village handicrafts. We first heard with a certain amazement that a large American mission in India employed a "poultry missionary," but when it is seen how not only a fresh source of economic strength, but a new variety and interest can be brought into the life of the villager by the addition of a new type of work such as poultry-raising, one learns to think differently of the matter. Again, many missionaries, while unable to join with Mr Gandhi in his absolute faith in the virtues of homespun cloth (*khaddar*), are equally unable to join in the chorus of derision which is directed against him by the mass of European opinion. Mr Gandhi has seen that the uplifting of the village population is at least in part a matter of the discovery of handicrafts subsidiary to agriculture; preferring a simple slogan to complicated economic doctrine he has confined himself to the single word "Khaddar."

We have considered how, in different parts of the world, India, China, Africa, missionary educators are working steadily at the problem of finding a better type of village education, related to the life of the village, and aiming at the uplift of the village community. Perhaps of all the things that the missionary move-

ment can do for the rehabilitation of village life and the environment of the villager, nothing in the long run can compare with the importance of education.

III

If the masses of Asia and Africa live in the villages, nevertheless the emergence of the factory and of machine industry has created problems of extreme difficulty in all the areas where it has been developed. We may look at this in two ways. Sir Atul Chatterjee, in his presidential address at the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1927, said that:

Social justice and goodwill between nations are the aims which the whole of mankind is seeking, but for the peoples of the East these objects have a profound significance. The miseries, privations and injustices attendant on unregulated industrialism constitute a grave menace to the culture and philosophy which are the proud heritage of Asiatic races. Our ancient traditions and civilizations must be preserved, but they require to be adjusted to the new environment which industrialism inevitably produces.[1]

Mr R. H. Tawney put the matter from another angle at Jerusalem:

That movement of dissolution and reconstruction, of levelling old social systems and building new ones, which everywhere has resulted from the establishment of western industrial civilization, is still in its infancy, and, in spite of reactions against it, in spite of attempts to dam the flood and repel the invasion, the forces

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., pp. 10-11.

behind it are, in my judgment, too powerful to be arrested, even were it desirable to arrest them. As a consequence, at the very moment when, in spite of its glittering external prosperity, industrial civilization is losing much of its moral authority in the countries which gave it birth—at the very moment when Europe is staggering under the misuse of its own material triumphs, and when men are seeking with ever-increasing insistence for a new synthesis which may make the fabric of economic civilization the servant, instead of the master, of the human spirit—that civilization is striding with unexampled rapidity to the conquest of countries unprepared for it by their history.[1]

A sympathetic woman observer, after visiting factories in China, writes :

It is not until one with experience of factories and of administration of factory law in the West arrives, and sees what is in progress in the way of industrialization, that the magnitude of the new risks and dangers, or the immensity of the field already awaiting the reformer, can be grasped.[2]

The coming of the factory to Asia, like the opening of the mines on the Rand in South Africa, has meant both the emergence of new evils and hardships for masses of humanity, together with the weakening of much of the values of the old civilization, and the complete failure to substitute for them anything worth having.

The factories springing up in the mission field today present to us some striking phenomena. The

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., p. 160.

[2] Dame Adelaide Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China*, p. 77.

Child Labour Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council

found *inter alia* that while the average monthly earnings of the workman and the coolie class are not more than $15, and may be much less, the average cost of living of a man and his wife of the very poorest class is not less than $16 a month; that the vast majority of Chinese children are made to start work at the earliest possible age, and that the industrial conditions promote tuberculosis among children; that many children were seen at work who could not be more than six years old, and that the hours of work were generally twelve, with one hour for a meal; that many children were virtually sold into industry, and lived under conditions amounting to slavery; and that the sanitary conditions were rarely satisfactory.

Some of the evidence laid before this Commission is terrible reading. In China, as in other Oriental countries, very bad housing conditions accompany the presence of factories. Epidemic disease spreads with great rapidity, crime increases, and with the weakening of the family system comes a loosening of the old moral standards.[1]

In Japan, now a highly industrialized country, the problems of western industrial organization are being repeated with perhaps accentuated violence. Japan is shut up to industrialism, for she has been forced to desert the policy of emigration, and can only feed her people by turning the country into a factory. Some sixty per cent of the factory workers of Japan are women. They come mostly from the

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., pp. 42 *et seq.*

little fishing villages on the sea coast, or from inland farms. The large factories send recruiting officers to villages and farms to paint in glowing pictures the attractions of factory life, but the conditions are becoming better known, and it is harder to get the women to come. "Excessive hours of work, low wages, night-work, congestion, restricted freedom, and the irresponsible promises of the recruiting agents" are among the reasons why the recruiters must each year go farther afield. "Some people have been driven to put notices on their doors with the statement, 'No daughter for factory work in this house,' to keep out the importunate recruiters." [1] The result of the conditions of factory life in Japan is that the average girl's life in a factory is from twelve to fourteen months.

In India, factory conditions are probably better than in any other Asiatic country. Yet the economic forces which have given rise to the growth of factories in India have outstripped the ability of the government or of private agencies to moralize them. Only in the last few months has it been decided that the nearly sixty thousand women in the underground mines of India (women work underground in mines in Japan also) are gradually to be withdrawn. The housing conditions in the great cotton areas of Bombay are so appalling that one cannot be surprised at the almost incredibly high death-rate among infants, round about a figure of sixty-six per cent.[2]

[1] *International Labour Review*, October 1925.
[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., pp. 34-6.

In Japan and India we naturally look to legislation [1] as the principal safeguard of the worker in the developing factory system, and we do not look entirely in vain. In India the daily hours of work in factories are limited to eleven for men and women, with a sixty-hour week. Children below the age of twelve may not be employed, and may only work half-time up to fifteen. Children under the age of thirteen may not be employed in mines, and for underground labour a fifty-four hour week is prescribed. Night work for women is entirely prohibited.

In Japan a new Act came into operation in 1926, which provides for a fifty-seven hour week (sixty in the raw silk industry). There is no legal restriction of the number of working hours in each day, except in the case of women and of children under fifteen years of age; but investigation shows that a working day of nine hours or less is in force for nearly half the factories. Women and young persons below sixteen may not be employed for more than eleven hours. Persons under fourteen may not be employed in industry except those who, being over twelve years of age, have completed a course in an elementary school.

In China it is perhaps needless to say that conditions have made it virtually impossible for industrial legislation to be enforced. The Shanghai Labour Commission made proposals in 1924, of which the chief were the prohibition of the labour of children below the age of ten, and the limitation of the employment of children under fourteen years of age for a longer period than twelve hours out of twenty-four. The

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., pp. 36, 61.

Peking Government promulgated factory regulations in 1923, of which the chief were that the labour of boys under ten, and girls under twelve, was prohibited, an eight-hour day laid down for boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen, and a ten-hour day for adults. Regulations were also made for sick and maternity benefits, for protection against factory accidents, regular rest days, and other points. These regulations have only nominally come into force, and no sanctions of any kind for their enforcement have been adopted.[1]

The Kuo Min Tang, the Nationalist party of China, has adopted a labour "platform," including an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, prohibition of child labour below the age of fourteen, and other points. There is undoubtedly a close sympathy between the organized factory workers of China and the authors of the political revolution; the workers and the students are closely allied. A Labour Institute has recently been created as an organ of research, as well as conciliation and arbitration boards all working in close contact with an official labour office. The new government of China certainly desires to carry some labour regulations into effect, but any such achievement still lies in the future.

An excellent example of the fruitful co-operation of official with non-official action in the amelioration of industrial civilization is provided by Persia,[2] where Bishop Linton some years ago called attention to the inhuman conditions under which women and children were employed in carpet making in Kerman. The

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

looms were situated in small, low, badly ventilated rooms, in which the workers were overcrowded to an unhealthy degree. Children were employed on these looms from as early as five years of age, and worked from early morning to sunset, with only a brief interval. Irreparable damage was caused to the health of these children. They became warped, and were often unable to get off their benches without assistance. Frequently they were permanently deformed, and condemned to an adult life of misery. The International Labour Organization, on having its attention called to these facts, approached the Persian government, and the latter government in 1921 stated that important reforms, including prohibition of factory labour for boys under eight, and girls under ten years of age, and drastic reform regarding the position of workshops, had been enacted.

The International Labour Office, to which reference has been made, has already been the instrument through which great benefits have accrued to the factory workers of the East. The Washington Convention of 1919 mapped out the lines of a policy of industrial legislation for China and Japan ; and a careful comparison of the present state of legislation in those countries with the Washington Convention is most illuminating in the revelation it provides of the benefits which the world already owes to the International Labour Office.

Under the conditions described it is obvious that the sphere of voluntary help must be great. It is probably greater in China than in either India or Japan, for the reason that in the latter two countries

legislation is the accustomed means of labour protection, while owing to the unsettled conditions of China effective legislation, and still more the effective enforcement of it, have been virtually impossible. The National Christian Council of China has given considerable attention to the problems of industrial labour in China, and the Young Women's Christian Association, working closely with the National Christian Council, had an important share in the Child Labour Reform Movement in Shanghai. A recent conference held in Shanghai on "Christianizing Economic Relations" shows not only that Christians in China are awakening to the hardships and evils imposed upon the people by factory conditions, but equally to the moral and social problems inherent in the western capitalist system now being established in the East. Pertinent questions are now being asked. They will be asked more and more insistently as time goes on.

In India several missions have concerned themselves with the well-being of the industrial workers. There are instances of community centres, model factory villages, educational schemes and the like conducted either by missions or by missionaries lent to business firms. Bodies such as the Servants of India Society, which has done so much for Indian labour, welcome the co-operation of missionaries in their work. The Young Men's Christian Association conducts a notable piece of welfare work in Nagpur, comprising not only educational and recreative activities, but an excellent housing plan. A study of the industrial situation of India is now being made by the National Christian

Council, and it is hoped that this will result in the delineation of different types of service which require workers, both Indian and foreign.

In Japan the most notable contribution of the Christian forces to the industrial problem has been the personality of Mr Toyohiko Kagawa (a Japanese Christian who has been justly likened to St Francis of Assisi), who has spent his life in ministering to the poor and oppressed of the Japanese industrial quarters.

IV

When we turn to Africa, in addition to the difficult problems associated with the mining population of the South, we find the major industrial issue to be one which lies between the rural and the industrial conditions described already. The greater part of the African population lives in villages, but the evil which menaces them is of the nature of industrialism. The collection of the vegetable raw material of Africa, such as rubber, palm oil, and ground nuts, is now carried on not by the simple native methods, but by systematic collection or by mass production on plantations. In a sense the elements of the factory system are present: regularity and continuity of employment, together with the payment of wages. The native worker must live near his work, and sometimes is brought by what amounts to force. His tribal life is therefore broken up, and he is frequently deprived for long periods of the presence of his family. Every missionary in

Africa working with the native population has his attention forcibly and painfully called to the invasion of tribal life by the new conditions which the economic development of Africa inevitably forces upon the native.

Just as factory legislation in the industrially-developed countries is the principal safeguard of the worker, so for the African worker also, protection is coming to be found in legislation. The regulations adopted by the different administrations in Africa—British, French, Belgian, and Portuguese — vary greatly. Some are good and efficiently administered. Others are defective both in idea and execution.

The focus of public discussion in regard to African rural labour has for some time been the problem of forced or compulsory labour. The Conference of the International Labour Organization to be held in June 1929 is to be devoted to this highly important subject, and it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the good name of the white man in Africa is to some extent bound up with the way in which he faces this question. Broadly speaking, all administrations in Africa prohibit forced labour for private employers, but there are methods of " encouragement of labour " which, if exercised by officers of the government, have all the force of compulsion. Forced labour for public needs is more debatable : the repairing of roads and other social activities have sometimes by custom been performed by the men of the community as a public duty. The aim of the Mandates Commission, and of the powers who joined in the Slavery Convention, is to achieve as high a degree as possible of agreement

in regard to the terms on which forced labour for public needs may be permitted.

Certain criteria are suggested by past experience. There should be a certain element of urgency in any public need if recourse is to be had to forced labour. The work to be done must be essential to the public well-being. Strict regulations should be enforced, not only regarding the causes for which forced labour may be adopted, but with regard to the conditions under which the men work, particularly regarding payment, the distance they are required to travel from their homes, the term of absence from their families and villages, provision for protection from disease, and similar points.

Conditions at present are too often far more grossly oppressive than a study of the regulations in force would lead one to believe. Appalling rates of mortality among forced labourers have been recorded. Mr Grimshaw, of the International Labour Office, mentioned at Jerusalem a contingent of enforced workers on an African railway, of whom ninety-four per cent had died ; and the spread of disease, the ruin of native cultivation through the enforced absence of the men, and the demoralization of tribal society, are only too frequent consequences of the present condition of things. The most enlightened governments of Africa regard enforced labour in the light of a temporary and evil necessity. They do not regard it as educative, and they desire to get rid of it with such speed as they may.

Intimately associated with the labour problem in Africa, as elsewhere, is that of land. The redemption

of the environment of the African native will not be achieved solely by the regulation of labour conditions. He must also be secured in the tenure of his land. Land in most parts of Africa has been immemorially held by the tribes corporately. In those regions where white men are able to settle and make their homes, land has been alienated by sale or allocation to the white man in permanent tenure, and the native is confined to reserves, not always adequate, and not always even satisfactorily secured to him. The widespread discussion over the recent Kenya Land Trust Bill is a case in point. Some of the best informed opinion with regard to this Bill, powerfully sponsored though it is by the Kenya Government, is that it is a retrograde step, and that it will tend to diminish the natives' security of tenure.

Land and labour go together. Those who desire to see the African native saved from the worst effects of the incoming of western civilization, and helped in the building up of a worthy rural society, must watch with stringent care the actions of governments in regard to both these issues.[1]

V

The facts which have been thus surveyed fall mainly into two classes. First, thousands, or it may be millions, of our fellow-men are enduring evils and hardships which are degrading to life, which are not inevitable, and which, if removable, ought to be removed.

[1] For further information on questions of land and labour in Africa, see *The Golden Stool*, particularly Chapters V., VI. and VIII.

There is further the difficult and important question, which we have seen so profusely illustrated, of the rapidly changing nature of society. It is a characteristic of the moral teaching of the great religions of Asia, as it is of the tribalism of Africa, that moral sanctions are intimately related to the established order of things. Hinduism has evolved the powerful social organization known as caste. China is founded on her powerful family system. But the new conditions of life which are invading the world from the West make these ancient systems largely obsolete, and new social organizations have been created without any realized moral, and still less spiritual, basis.

The lines of advance which are now commending themselves to the Christian forces in the countries under discussion are too manifold and too detailed to be summarized here, but they ought to be studied.[1] They may be divided into certain types.

There is need in the first place for much more careful study of the economic and social factors involved than is at present, apart from a few exceptional individuals, at the disposal of the Christian Church. When we are dealing with social and economic phenomena, mere enunciation of principles is of little value. The situation to which they are to be applied should be thoroughly understood, and probably the greatest single need of the missionary movement in this aspect of its life is for a Bureau of Research, to which it could look for authoritative guidance in regard to some of the complicated issues above described.

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vols. VI., and V. p. 181 ff.

The stimulation of righteous and compassionate labour legislation is a task in which the Christian forces should be able to help. What was done in a single instance in Persia [1] might be taken as a type of what ought to be done on a much larger scale. In the last resort the structure of law rests upon the basis of public opinion, and in the education of public opinion every man of goodwill should take his share.

It will be obvious from what has been said that there is a place in the mission field for a larger variety of workers than is perhaps always understood. There is room for the man who cannot preach, but who can train boys in industry, or help to lift the load of debt from poverty-stricken villages, or raise the level of agriculture, or in a hundred other ways contribute to the building up of a true community life. Such helpers, for whom missions already have room, and may have more in the future, must work in intimate connection with the indigenous Churches. Let it be repeated that the Christian is not concerned primarily with the achievement of economic advance. He is concerned with the building up of the Christian society. It must therefore be of peculiar appeal to him that the younger Christian Churches in India, China, Japan, and Africa, faced with new social and economic conditions which come upon them with great force and suddenness, are earnestly seeking for the articulation of the Christian message in relation to these things. Guidance in thought and guidance in work, help in formulating a Christian social gospel, and help in translating Christian ideals into

[1] See pp. 200-1.

social practice, are among the gifts which the younger Churches look for from the older and maturer traditions of western Christianity.

VI

What is the Christian obligation in regard to the redemption of the environment?

The condonation of social evil by the Church is, in the eyes of an increasing proportion of non-Christians, a condemnation of the Church. Increasingly the educated men of India, China, Japan, Africa, and other lands are becoming intimately acquainted with the social evils of Europe and America. It is one of the minor effects of this knowledge that the prestige of the West has sunk among the intelligentsia of the East. It would, however, be much more fatal than any loss of western prestige, if the minds of thoughtful non-Christians became convinced either that Christianity had no message in the face of social evils and difficulties, or that its message was ineffective and futile. That the ancient religions are of little help in this emergency is all too plain, and it is perhaps one of the attractions of communist doctrine in the eastern world to-day that it seems to give a simple clear answer, based on a crude but clear-cut social philosophy, to the new difficulties forced on the eastern mind by the establishment of the western industrial order in the East.

But there are few facts more significant than the awakening of the Christian social conscience in the last generation in Europe and America. Not only

have the Churches of the West, including the Church of Rome, gradually developed in recent years the organs of their own social education, but the Orthodox Churches of the East, to which social and economic problems have been so alien, have begun to come into the same circle of life and idea, as was shown clearly at the great conference on social problems held in 1925 at Stockholm. What the Church in the West tardily but earnestly has begun to-day, the younger Churches of Africa and the East must and will do, and it is one of the high privileges of missionary enterprise that it may serve as the link between the experience of the western Church in the practice of the social gospel and the new needs and problems of the Church of the East.

Mr Tawney, whom we have already quoted, put at Jerusalem with compelling force the simple religious issue. He agreed with the critics of "Social Christianity" that Christianity is not a mere system of humanitarian ethics, nor the Church an association for social reform, and that there is truth in an emphasis upon individual conversion as the foundation of advance:

"For surely," he said, "whatever else Christianity may be, it is at least a body of teaching which affirms that the nature of God and man is such that only in so far as men endeavour to live their lives in accordance with the principles expressed in the life and teaching of our Lord can they expect to realize the highest values of which human beings are capable, and that, compared with that effort, all other things are of secondary importance. . . .

"The decision that, in spite of all appearances, the only tolerable life is one which attempts to embody these principles is, I suppose, what is meant by the word Faith. But for the ordinary method by which they are made to appear less impracticable, the method which consists in limiting their application to those departments of human affairs in which their claims are least exacting, in drawing a sharp distinction between a change of heart and a change of the social order and saying that the former must precede the latter, there does not seem to be any foundation either in the teaching of the New Testament, or in that of the Church at its most vigorous periods, or in reason. Because God's Kingdom is not of this world it does not follow that this world is not part of His Kingdom. We must beware of the not uncommon fallacy of saying that what we desire is a change of heart, while meaning that what we do not desire is a change of anything else.

"In reality, this whole distinction between the life of the spirit and the fabric of society is a false antithesis which it should be the duty of a Christian community to overcome. . . . Institutions, social organization, economic activity, property rights, international relations—these things are not a lifeless mechanism devoid of spiritual significance. They have their being in the spirit of man and nowhere else. . . . It is these, and not the phrases uttered by moralists, which are the clue to the quality of the spiritual life of each country and each generation. . . . They determine whether the life of the individual shall be free or servile, responsible or the sport of

forces which it cannot control, a long struggle for personal self-advancement and against personal loss or touched by dedication to some end transcending personal interests. It is not because modern industrial civilization plunges men in poverty that the conscience of an increasing part of mankind is in revolt against it; for as a matter of fact it has brought to even the poorest of them a degree of comfort unknown in the past. The source of their discontent is not economic but spiritual. It is that they feel that the system under which they live and which, as individuals, they cannot change, confronts them in the daily relations of the factory, the counting-house, and the market-place with principles sharply contrasted with those which they have been taught to accept as the criteria of their personal life. But you cannot in practice maintain two incompatible standards of morality side by side. You cannot win the individual to a life of service and self-sacrifice if the social environment within which he is set is dominated by a ruthless economic egotism. . . . To divorce religion from the matters of social organization and economic activity which occupy nine-tenths of the life of nine-tenths of mankind, on the ground that they are common and unclean, is to make them unclean and ultimately to destroy religion in the individual soul to which you have attempted to confine it. . . .

"What is needed is that the Church should resume the task of creating a Christian sociology. . . .

"Such a body of Christian doctrine must be the product of the collective mind of Christians working on generations of experience, but it is not difficult

perhaps to indicate the main principles upon which it is likely to rest. That human personality is sacred and that the materialism which sacrifices to economic interests the welfare of human beings—the health and development of children, and the freedom and responsibility which should be the right of men—is an odious outrage on the image of God; that human industry should be a life of fellowship in service, not a struggle for self-advancement; that society has a corporate responsibility to use its power to secure for all its members the conditions of spiritual and physical well-being—there are few who would suggest that to the Christian such statements are other than platitudes, or that they receive a more than highly imperfect expression in the life of nominally Christian societies. . . .

"The curse of some parts of the East to-day, as of England a century ago, is the passion for rapid economic development and the single-minded concentration on pecuniary gain by which that passion is fed, so that every form of social dislocation and individual demoralization is defended on the ground that it is essential to economic progress. But economic progress is not an end but a means; and rapid economic development in a society not prepared for it is not a blessing but a misfortune; and the naive illusion that a society becomes more prosperous if its output of commodities increases while the institutions which provide its moral stamina are undermined, will deceive no one who accepts the Christian view that material wealth is to be valued in so far as, and only in so far as, it assists and enriches the life of the

spirit. . . . In this matter the sign-posts on the road are plain for all to read. There is nothing that men are suffering in the East or Africa to-day that they have not undergone in one part of Europe or another at some time during the last five hundred years of its tragic history. The toxins which industrial society secretes are known ; the remedies for many of them are known also. Christians cannot escape a moral responsibility for seeing that they are applied." [1]

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. V., pp. 163-9.

CHAPTER VIII

"SIRS, YE ARE BRETHREN"

I

No question confronting the twentieth century is more grave and difficult than the problem of race. The most casual reader of the newspapers cannot fail to be aware, even if only in a vague way, that there are areas of the world where the contact of one race with another is accompanied by bitter manifestations of hatred or fear. This international friction and difficulty intimately concerns the Christian missionary movement. It is not only that missionary work cannot prosper where there is an atmosphere of mutual antagonism between great groups of people; or that where racial relationships are embittered between white and coloured peoples the white emissaries of the Gospel must have their work impeded. The principal reason is that the Christian religion brings a message of fullness of life; the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, and peace, and the coming of the Kingdom of God in the world is the exact antithesis of the spirit which is generated among the peoples by racial and international antagonism.

This chapter, therefore, will be concerned with the relation of the Christian mission both to race and to nationalism. To some it may seem unscientific to associate these two ideas so closely. Race is

essentially a physical thing; nationalism essentially a thing of the spirit. Nevertheless, the types of antagonism which are generated by what is called nationalism and by what is called racial feeling are very closely akin, and there are strong reasons for believing that at least a very large part of what is regarded as racial feeling does not truly arise from anything physical, but is a compound of emotions springing from other causes.

We shall first of all consider objectively, without recording opinions, some of the manifestations of racial and nationalist feeling in different parts of the world, and proceed then to consider the ways in which Christians, both individually and corporately, can take a share in countering this widespread evil.

II

It was said by the late Mr E. S. Montagu that there was in India no racial feeling between Indians and British, but that the feeling which undoubtedly existed was in its essence political. With this judgment we concur. The intense national feeling which pervades India to-day, and which comes with an unpleasant shock to those who, by lack of contact or lack of imagination, have not realized its strength, is mainly the result of the strong desire of Indians to govern themselves. In a sense it is the fruit of the unification of the country through the Pax Britannica, and of the use of English as a common language for the educated classes, with the consequent access on the part of large numbers of the people to the liberty-

loving literature of the British. While an all-India nationalism is thus a modern fact, it is necessary to recognize that the nationalist consciousness is filled with a sense of the ancient culture of India, and the beauty and charm of her centuries-old civilization. Nationalism in India, as elsewhere, though its spear-head is politics, and some part of its driving power is the sense of injustice, is a richer thing than politics. It is a proud assertion of the Indian heritage in art and letters, architecture and philosophy, music and painting, poetry and science, as well as of the right of Indians to govern themselves.

The nationalist movement has, however, been focused in the political struggle, and the development of it is so familiar that it need not be recapitulated here. Suffice it to say that the steadily growing desire for self-government was greatly stimulated by the extensive Indian share in the European War; that the chance of making the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms a success was more than half ruined by the Amritsar shooting, and by the estrangement of the Moslems through the post-war Turkish settlement. There have been really three parties in India among those who share the nationalist passion. The extreme political party has virtually boycotted the reforms, or entered only into the most tentative co-operation with them. A moderate party, including a few highly experienced and able men, has worked with the government in the reforms, but desires the same ultimate end as the Swarajists. Mr Gandhi and his group have largely eschewed the political arena, and devoted themselves to the removal of crying social

evils which militate against nationhood, and to the strengthening of the national character and morale. All alike believe in the fundamental right of India to govern herself; they differ in the methods they would choose to attain this end, and further, in the degree of *bona fides* which they ascribe to the British.

The edge of Indian nationalism has been sharpened in recent months by two events. The first was the publication of Miss Katharine Mayo's book, *Mother India*, which is almost universally condemned by Indian opinion of all kinds. The second was the sending out to India of the Statutory Commission, composed solely of British Parliamentary members. It is probable that as we write these words the attitude of India towards Great Britain is more hostile than it has been for years.

The spirit of hostility and suspicion generated by the events and movements thus summarized extends throughout all departments of life. There is widespread suspicion of the disinterested goodwill of British men of commerce or of British officials, even when they seek, as many of them do, to aid any Indian commercial and economic advance. No department of life, however far removed from politics, is unaffected by the spirit of nationalist antagonism. It is a remarkable thing, and one which demonstrates the truth of Mr Montagu's remark above referred to, that individual relations of friendliness and courtesy remain so easily possible between Indians and British who desire to enjoy such relations.

Nor is Indian nationalist feeling directed only to the achievement of autonomy within the bounds of

India: it thinks much and often of the great Indian diaspora so widely scattered over the islands of the Pacific, Malaysia, Mauritius, South and East Africa, and parts of South America. An adequate estimate of the Indian overseas colonization has yet to be made. Indians have gone abroad in recent years mostly as coolies and labourers, not as pioneer explorers, but they have remained and have become an integral and indispensable part in the economy of the places to which they have gone. The whole of India which has been able to think of these things at all felt acutely the slights put upon Indians in Kenya, and still more the attack by the Union of South Africa upon the place of Indians in the Union, many, probably the majority, of whom have been born on African soil. There is perhaps no major issue of public affairs on which the Indian government has seen eye to eye so closely with the leaders of the people as in this matter of Indian rights overseas. It is not too much to say that any value which Indians may see in the British commonwealth of nations is conditioned almost entirely by the status which Indians hold in the other nations of that commonwealth.

There is in India another clash which, in a strict sense, is neither nationalist nor racial: the antagonism between Hindus and Moslems. The reasons for this clash are manifold. They are partly religious, partly economic, partly social. The facts are sufficiently grave. Between August 1923 and July 1926, seventy-four riots and disturbances took place, causing the death of two hundred and fifty-eight persons. No Indian who takes the affairs of

his country seriously fails to appreciate the gravity of this issue. Hindu-Moslem unity is one of the supreme objectives of Mr Gandhi's movement. Undoubtedly this internal antagonism is one of the reasons which lead many British friends of India to doubt the possibility of " Dominion status " in the immediate future ; but it should be realized that many Indians regard the problem as only soluble under the stress of the sobering responsibilities of self-government.

III

The basin of the Pacific is the region of the world to-day where the largest number of racial contacts and antagonisms, latent or actual, are concentrated. This judgment will not be disputed when it is remembered that in the lands round the Pacific we find the Korean movement against Japanese rule, the Japanese antipathy to North American exclusion laws, the apparently mutual antipathy of Chinese and Japanese, the intense resentment of China against foreign interference, subjection, or economic over-lordship, the soreness of the Philippines regarding American financial exploitation, the fear of the yellow race on the part of Australasia, and the resolute determination of the American and Canadian peoples not to allow their racial type to be effectively invaded by immigrants of the yellow peoples.

In this vast section of the human scene we find almost all the different reasons for racial separation present. There is the political factor. Korea insists that her undoubted economic difficulties are the

fruit of Japanese rule, and desires to be free from it. China will no longer tolerate treaties to which she has not been an equal partner, nor the existence within China of foreign laws affecting, directly or indirectly, Chinese subjects. There is the economic factor. The Philippines complain that their hoped-for self-government has been denied because facilities are wanted by American capitalists for the planting of rubber on a large scale.[1] The basis of the Australasian "White Australia" policy is economic: the Australians wish to maintain the level of life which their working-classes have reached, and they fear that the immigration of coloured labour would gravely depress that standard. There is the element of social exclusiveness, and the sensitive resentment it inevitably evokes. Just as in India many Indians have had a seed of bitterness planted in their lives by insolence, often unintentional, on the part of the white man, it is found in China that the exclusiveness of many Europeans, especially it is to be feared British, is an important factor in the degradation of relationships, and the increase of ill-feeling.

Undoubtedly it is to the nationalist movement in China that the eyes of the West should most of all be turned nowadays. Those who know China well say that her nationalism is a modern thing. The old corporate loyalties of China were to the family and the clan. Modern China, like modern India, is learning the meaning of a nationalism which embraces the nation.

Sun Yat Sen was the prophet of modern nationalist China. He died, leaving behind him the task of

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. IV., p. 223.

"achieving freedom and equality for China." His will is the sacred text of China's nationalism; it contains the famous Three People's Principles: the People's Race, the People's Authority, and the People's Welfare.[1] A recent commentator summed up these three principles as equivalent, in practice, to China for the Chinese, Democracy, and Socialism. The first principle covers the movement for the assertion of Chinese sovereignty over the Chinese land. The second covers the assertion of the popular authority over government, and the third covers all governmental means for the improvement of the condition of the people and the development of the national resources.

Chinese nationalism, in fact, like the nationalism of other countries, is the legitimate assertion of the people's desire for authority within their own bounds. As in other countries, it is the denial of her proper rights which tends to make it unhealthy and to invest it with the characteristics of religion. There are signs of a religious cult in some of its manifestations: in the veneration paid to Sun Yat Sen, though this may be interpreted as no more than respect for the departed great; and in the compilation of calendars composed of texts from his will. The best that the peoples of the West can do for Chinese nationalism is to admit without hesitation its legitimate demands, and to recognize the Chinese as a people great and destined to greatness, entitled to the same instinctive respect as is unquestioningly accorded to

[1] For a full description and analysis of these Principles see John Foster, *Chinese Realities*.

the Japanese, and make it unnecessary for them to graduate in those arts which the West frequently appears to regard as qualifications for respect.

IV

South Africa is the scene of the most complicated and difficult inter-racial relationships and conflicts which any part of the world to-day can show. She has the memories of the South African War, with the not entirely healed breach between Briton and Boer. She has the presence of five million Africans alongside of a million and a half whites; she has still further the presence of some hundred and fifty thousand Indians, and of a considerable number of people of mixed white and African race. The position of the Indians resident in South Africa has recently been the subject of a settlement which stands out in the somewhat gloomy history of racial conflict in the world as a real example of the triumph of good sense and goodwill.[1]

The whole future of the native in South Africa, and of his relation with the white man, is still full of uncertainty and danger. The points at issue are not difficult to define. The first is land.[2] Fifty-five per cent of the rural population, *i.e.* two and a half millions, live on lands definitely set apart for native occupation, and three hundred and seventy-five thousand, eight per cent, live on land not exclusively reserved for natives, but made available for settlement by

[1] See C. F. Andrews, *International Review of Missions*, July 1927.
[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. IV., p. 102.

them. Thirty-five per cent, or more than one and a half millions, reside on lands not reserved for or controlled by natives, and are therefore squatters, tenants or labourers on European farms. There is a widespread agreement now in South Africa to the principle of the territorial segregation of natives, a principle resisted at an earlier time when it was practicable to enforce it, as it is not practicable now. The land sufficient for the adequate segregation of natives could not now be obtained without smashing the economic structure of South Africa, and, in addition, so large a percentage of both white and native population is mutually indispensable to one another economically that total segregation has become impossible. Dr Dexter Taylor considers that the effects of the policy now proposed in recent bills will be to increase the pressure upon present native areas already overcrowded, to lower the economic status of natives compelled to remain on European farms, and to create additional pressure upon industrial employment in the towns, where competition between natives and poor whites is already most severe.

Labour and wages form another element of the problem. "The most unchangeable thing in South Africa is native wages."[1] Native wages have risen five per cent since 1914, while the cost of living in the country has gone up ninety per cent in the same period. Efforts are made to keep the native agricultural wage artificially low, and educated Africans like Professor Jabavu say frankly that it is impossible for the native, on the wages frequently paid, to buy food

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. IV., p. 108.

and the various necessities of life.[1] The congestion of the native areas forces the native into the cities, where slum conditions arise, and crime and terrible racial bitterness are fostered, while the economic position of the "poor white" cannot but be affected by the competition of the urban native.

All the world knows that South Africa is, with the Southern States of America, the scene of almost universal social disabilities imposed upon men of the black race, with the difference that in South Africa the man of mixed race does not count as a native, while in America he is looked upon as a negro. Large numbers of Bantu natives are subjected to a strain which is almost incredible. They are forced to be away from their families, and to work in the towns for a large part of the year, and are treated with indignity of every kind. Even highly educated and civilized Africans are the victims of petty oppression and insolence in trams and trains. It is one of the most remarkable facts which meets anyone who studies racial relationships, that so many of the leading representatives of the negro race have attained to such dignity and serenity of spirit, in spite of being subjected to indignities which white men, with centuries of unchallenged freedom behind them, can barely understand.

In education and politics there are great issues to be decided in South Africa. The native feels that he does not get the education to which the taxation he pays should entitle him. Less than fifty per cent of the population of school age is in school. It is

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. IV., p. 109.

a curious instance of the poison which racial feeling injects into all departments of life, that the very movements in education which are likely to be most fruitful for the African native, related intimately as they are to the fabric of native life, are opposed by many of the educated champions of the native just because they savour to them of a scheme for preventing African children from getting the white man's language and the white man's education. It is felt that any special native curriculum is necessarily inspired by the desire to deprive the native of educational privileges.

The whole question of the political rights of the native in South Africa is now the subject of projected legislation. It is proposed to remove the Cape franchise, which has hitherto given to natives of sufficient educational status the right to vote in the general electorate, and to substitute throughout the Union a system of representation of the natives by Europeans, with special councils of natives.

The elements of hope in the situation in South Africa lie partly in the growing recognition on the part of economists that the economic future of South Africa is one in which native and European are inextricably involved, partly in the increased attention given by the universities to the study of the economic aspect of the native question, partly to the awakening of the Church, particularly of the great Dutch Reformed Church, which has so powerful an influence in South Africa, to the seriousness of the racial issue.

V

The latest field to be invaded by nationalism has been the Near East. Pan-Islamism appears to be very nearly dead; certainly it does not exercise any particular force in the policies of the nations and the peoples of the Near East, though it is still possible to excite the interest of one Moslem people in injustice suffered by another. Turkey is a unified nationalist state,[1] officially but little interested in Islam. The nationalism of Turkey, always latent, was fanned into a flame by the humiliation of Turkey in the War. Led by a resolute ruler in Kemal Pasha, the country is inspired by the desire to take its place in the world as a modern civilized state.

The nationalism of Egypt is coloured by the Moslem faith of the vast mass of Egyptians, but the large extent to which the Christian Copts have joined in the Egyptian nationalist movement indicates that the movement is strictly nationalist and not religious. Here we touch a situation similar to that of India, where a people with an ancient tradition of civilization chafe against the rule, actual, if not nominal, of a foreign power.

In Palestine the antagonism of Arab, Zionist, Jew, and Christian is beginning to be submerged in a common desire to achieve a Palestinian nationality. It is a curious fact that many of the telegrams of protest received from Arab bodies by the International Missionary Council at its meeting at Jerusalem, were based on the conviction, apparently widespread, that

[1] See p. 149.

an effort was to be made to detach Christian Palestinians from the growing unity of Palestinian nationality.

VI

Let us set aside the idea, still popular in some quarters, that there is some fundamental justification, biological or the like, for the assumption of superiority by one people over another. Into this knotty question we cannot enter now, but must be content to express the view that differences of cultural level and achievement in different races are a sign of lack of development or opportunity rather than of inherent inferiority. The fact of actual inequality and inferiority must be accepted, but it is only safe to do so if, along with these indisputable facts, we face also the deeper reality of the unity of the human race, the identical workings of the human mind at all levels of humanity, and the ultimate value of human personality which is enshrined for us in the teaching of our Lord.

We find the causes of this divisive feeling, sometimes national and sometimes racial, to be of clearly marked types. Some of it is political, as in India or Cairo. Some of it is economic, as in the Southern States of America, or South Africa. Some of it is social, as in the case of educated men and women of colour in their contact all over the world with white men and women, especially of the white Protestant peoples.

Almost everywhere these strands are twined together. The Filipino desires political freedom in order to be able to rid himself of American financial

exploitation. The Indian wants not only political freedom, but economic freedom. The social exclusiveness of the white man is actuated often by a morbid fear of any intercourse which would tend to the elevation of the coloured man's ways of life, and through education to make him a more effective competitor.

Non-political, economic, and social differences are a part of the ordinary intercourse both of individuals and of nations all over the world. Economic rivalry between Great Britain and the United States, political differences between France and Germany, social differences between Latins and Teutons, all lead to difficulties of various kinds; but there is absent from them the peculiar virus which is present in almost all the centres of strife sketched above, a virus due to the association of these difficulties, political, social, economic, and other, with a *difference of colour*. This obvious, universally recognized, and simple physical distinction gathers round it the whole force of antagonisms which proceed from other causes, until many people, especially white people, are convinced beyond redemption that their feeling of antagonism is based on a primeval instinct entitled to the same respect as the major instincts of human life.

VII

What, then, can be done?

Obviously out of so complicated a series of situations no one simple path can be found. The solutions of any given phase of racial or nationalist antagonism

will be not less manifold than the causes which underlie the problem. We may indicate some lines of activity to which Christians should give their minds.

In the first place, if it is clear that one cause of racial or nationalist ill-feeling is the presence of disability or injustice in the political, economic, or social field, the most potent way of removing the ill-feeling is to remove the injustice which causes it. The first thing, therefore, for Christian people to face when they consider the problems of race and nationalism, is that the causes of the ill-feeling associated with these two words must be thoroughly investigated, and an honest effort made to do justice. Let it be recognized, too, that "doing justice" will often mean the more powerful party voluntarily giving up an advantage, political or economic, which it has the power to maintain by force.

It is not pretended, in saying this, that it is always either easy or indeed possible to rectify immediately evils which have taken long to establish. The solution is not always clear, and the diagnosis of a situation made by nationalist passion is not necessarily such as will support a constructive policy. We touch here some of the most intractable difficulties in the world. One recalls the relation of the Suez Canal, on the one hand to Egyptian independence, and on the other to the communications of the British Empire; the American control of the Panama Canal in its relation, on the one hand to the power and wealth of America, and on the other to the freedom of Central American Republics. The Christian idealist—and we ought all to be Christian idealists—is often forced into a dilemma

because the logical carrying out of his principles apparently involves his endorsement of policies whose immediate adoption he cannot pretend to believe beneficial to anybody. Nevertheless there must be a way out. It is interesting to see how in the minds of a certain number of Oriental leaders the League of Nations begins to assume a new importance. They begin to look to it as a possible means of safeguarding those just rights of foreign countries within the bounds of Oriental countries, which are at present secured by some method of foreign extra-territorial activity. Along some such lines advance may lie, but it must be repeated that a way out must be found, and that the Christian conscience cannot remain placid in the presence of racial or national ill-feeling based on a just sense of being wronged.

Secondly, there is the need for study. One of the most hopeful signs of the present day is the increasing and varied number of groups of all kinds which concern themselves with the study of inter-racial relationships. Both in South Africa and the United States the universities are taking up the study of racial relationships. The Honolulu conferences on Pacific relations, and the institute associated with those conferences, is a powerful agent for spreading the spirit of rational enquiry in regard to problems which are in sore need of that spirit, but tend to be inflamed by passion.

Another type of group has arisen of late which concerns itself not only with study (which, in order to be thoroughly objective, ought probably to be divorced from propaganda), but with action. Such bodies as

the Inter-racial Council in America have done invaluable service in improving the relationships of white men and negroes all over the Southern States. Similar organizations have faced the contacts of Americans and Orientals on the Pacific coast. The Joint Councils of Natives and Europeans in South Africa, notably that of Johannesburg, have rendered not less valuable service in that troubled sphere. In all these bodies we see the drawing together of men and women of goodwill, coming from both sides of the racial barrier, and determined to find together a better way. It is hard to over-estimate the influence of such groups in permeating and recreating public opinion.

In all these things Christians will take their share. Is there any function for the Church as such, and any duty incumbent especially on Christians in virtue of their faith and loyalty ?

We have not a clean record. Professor Julius Richter of Berlin, perhaps the greatest living student of the missionary enterprise, remarked at the Jerusalem meeting that Islam had a better record in the achievement of brotherhood within its own ranks than had the Christian Church. Separate churches for white and coloured people have grown up in South Africa, and in the Southern States of North America. The discussions about the Indian Church Measure, now passed into law, exhibited a widespread fear of their fellow-Christians on the part of Europeans of a certain type. Some of the personal stories which come to one's ears as one enters into intimate friendships with men and women of other races, tell of racial exclusiveness on the part of individual Christians and

even of the Church. The Christian witness in this matter will be utterly valueless unless the Church itself, within its own ranks, is able, as the Body in which the Spirit of Christ dwells, to transcend the barriers of colour, nationality, and cultural difference. The Church can never effectively withstand the dangers of religious nationalism in the East, if it is itself tainted with racialism and a narrow nationalism.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that not only do practically all the movements for inter-racial friendship referred to above owe their inspiration to Christians, but the Christian Church can show some of the most outstanding examples of the power of human nature, inspired by Jesus, to live in happy unconsciousness of racial difference. Who has done more for the African native than Stewart of Lovedale, whose famous college has held up the ideal of a university for Africans, and has now afforded a similar hope to the Indians resident in the Union? A place like Trinity College at Kandy in Ceylon, with its boys and masters drawn from Indian, Sinhalese, Burgher, European, and other groups and types, has given its members a memorable demonstration of the possibility of rising into a sphere where race ceases to be felt. To take an instance of a different type, the intimate friendship of Mr C. F. Andrews with the two greatest living Indians, Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Rabindranath Tagore, is one of the really important facts in modern India. There must be, taken altogether, an immense number of people—missionaries, schoolmasters, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, men of business—all over the world who, through the

Student Christian Movement and friendships with people of other races made in its meetings, have learned not only the possibility of overcoming racial feeling, but the positive enrichment of life which difference in race and nationality can bring.

For this is another side of the question. The existence of nations and races in the world is not simply a part of the problem of evil. It is surely a part of the Divine Providence, and there is something in it which we are to learn and appropriate. Does not this suggest that the only way forward for a Christian is the way of bold inter-racial fellowship? Even if it were possible (and, of course, it is totally impossible) for the races of mankind to be settled each in its own area, with no contacts at all beyond their own bounds, does anybody imagine that that would be a good kind of world? The experience of those who have realized the possibilities of race as enriching life and deepening our sense of the love of God fully justifies us in holding that it is along the line of racial fellowship, friendship, and social intercourse that advance has to be sought.

Undoubtedly there is much to be done, apart from any elaborate organization. If, for instance, we could secure that the kind of books that our children read in school and in the home about other nations and races were instinct with reverence and regard, and devoid of the follies and vain superiorities which sometimes disfigure them, a generation might arise which would see further in these things than we are able to do. Again, there are before many people opportunities of showing courtesy and kindness to

those of other races and nations which could be embraced more freely than they are. So much has been said about the interpenetration of East and West through travel that it is only necessary here to add how important it is, for the extension of friendship in the world, that the Oriental and African students in the universities of the West should be welcomed with a friendship which even now all too seldom meets them.

VIII

The clearness of the principles of Jesus, and their superiority to the ordinary standards of the world, become more manifest in regard to these issues than perhaps anywhere else in the modern world. An African, speaking at Jerusalem, began his speech with a plea that we should remember "the sacredness and inviolability of personality as taught by Jesus."[1] Dr John Hope, one of the most impressive of all the men who came to that meeting, spoke more than once of the "inexorable movement of Jesus Christ in the hearts of men,"[2] and insisted that in so far as the negro had risen at all, he had risen because Jesus Christ had moved in the hearts of white men, or because, as he said, "The negro found Christ in chains."

Even to speak of the sacredness of personality is to be too abstract and general. Miss Tilak, speaking at Jerusalem, said, "As Christian people we have no

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. IV., p. 217.
[2] *Ibid.*

doubt, and we do not discuss the principle of our Lord, that in Him there is neither Greek nor barbarian, but we should humbly examine ourselves whether we are prepared to carry out this principle to its last conclusion." [1]

To Paul, Jew that he was, with his Roman citizenship and his Greek culture, other men were no longer Greek or Jew, Roman or barbarian, no longer inferior in culture or outside the chosen people by religion, or lower in political privilege. They were " my brothers, for whom Christ died." Is not this the core of things for the Christian? We have written earlier of the way in which the Cross of Christ sets things upside down, turning tragedy into triumph, and making weakness into strength. Christians must carry their interpretation of the Cross into life and see in all humanity, and not least in those to whom they are tempted to feel hostile or superior, those for whom Jesus Christ was content to die, and who are therefore dignified by His love.

Dr Hope, to quote him once more, said at Jerusalem one penetrating thing with which we may leave this subject: " The world already knows much of Jesus. We need not only to know Him, but to choose Him." [2] There is a danger that we may face our problems steadily and see them whole, and then, having seen them, pass by on the other side. We need not only to know Jesus, but to *choose* Him.

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. IV., p. 228.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 22.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER

I

WHERE does this long argument lead ?

We began by considering the world in which we live, and saw reason for holding that, even though much of the life and thought of that world scoffs at the idea of a universal religion, there is that in it which demands a common basis for thought and life, a common ground to support those finer elements in the world's life which give the lie to any purely materialistic doctrine. We saw, too, that such a basis of life must be religious.

Next, we surveyed some of the historic answers made by the religions of the world to the questions which the human heart and mind ask. We found that they contain one or other of two fatal defects. Either they make Reality impersonal, and find no room in it for those things which man in his personal life knows to be of the very marrow of being ; or else, in the effort to meet the personal needs of man, they offer us personality in the Godhead such as is unsatisfying to man's intellectual or moral or spiritual nature. We asked whether there was in the world's history a personality such that men could at one and the same time find in him the moral strength and succour of the soul and recognize in him the key to the nature

of Reality. Such a personality we found in Jesus Christ, and we considered something of what is meant by calling Him Lord and Christ, both unique and universal, and why we may venture to do so.

Then we came to the society in which the Spirit of Jesus loves to dwell, and we saw that it is already to be found in every land, that it is in the heart of the world's life, and that as a living organism it is continually changing its forms and activities in answer to the claims of life. We traced some of the effects of the growth of the younger branches of the Church in Asia and Africa, and the relation of these younger branches to the older Christian communities of the West which have borne the missionary burden. We saw that the call of the present day to these older churches is to exhibit more than ever of the spirit of Christ and to seek a new unity in Him. We recorded some of the ways in which the pulsing life that is in the Church manifests itself in an extraordinary variety of Christian witness.

Then we looked at some of the particular tasks which confront the Church in the world to-day. We thought of education—of the demand for quality, of its immense importance in the modern world of the widespread desire for education, and of the aid offered by the new development of educational science towards the formulation of a truly Christian education. We saw the social gospel in a new light, as the call to labour for a Christian social order in a world where the old is being chaotically supplanted by the new. Last, we have looked at the spectre of racial and nationalist hatred and fear, and seen in it the

shrewdest challenge of all to faith in the all-conquering love of Jesus, and the supreme need for the witness of a Church in which all barriers are overleapt.

How do all these things bear upon us ?

II

First, in the realm of thought.

We may put together some remarks made by very different people, and in relation to not entirely identical circumstances, which yet show a curious similarity. Dr T. C. Chao of Peking says :

> We need a world philosophy—cogent thinking about life as a whole. Great emphasis must be placed on this point through American and European missionaries. We have become too utilitarian ; we need the element of utilitarianism, but we need much more a sense of both the immanent and the transcendent ; we need a world view which comprehends and seeks to blend both of these things. . . . This does not exclude our need for philosophy, science, art, economics, and so forth. The younger generation in China is pushing its life out to include all these things, but they need a new interpretation of life as a whole.[1]

Dr Kraemer, a missionary scholar from Java and a recognized authority on Islam, gives an answer to this plea of modern China, and it is disconcerting :

> Missionaries are compelled to consider the relationship of the Christian message to non-Christian nations with a very weak background. They have a weak background because in Europe those who have the

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 394.

gift of the gospel are themselves confused. We are in the birth-pangs of wrestling for a new view of life, the world—a *Weltanschauung*—and God. So long as we are in that condition it will remain an impossible task, however inevitable. . . . We need a prophet and thinker of the first rank. What hampers the missionaries is that they have not a comprehensive view of life, but a set of detached dogmas (not using that word in the bad sense), because the West nowadays is devoid of a comprehensive view of life.[1]

We have already listened to Mr Tawney's plea for a new Christian sociology, which would do for the modern world what was done by the all-embracing ethical scheme of the mediæval schoolmen in an age when life was less complicated than it is to-day.

Last, we may hear a voice from Latin America, when Dr Mackay pleads his conviction that "the next great advance in the missionary enterprise will come when the Church has attained a sense of the cosmic significance of Jesus and a fresh experience of a divine Lord."[2]

These witnesses testify to the need for a comprehensive world view based on the fact of Jesus Christ, and to the confusion which has overtaken the Christianity of the West because it has lost that comprehensive world view, or, rather, has failed to maintain the comprehensiveness of its view as the world changed and grew larger and more varied before its eyes.

This is, of course, primarily a task for the scholar and thinker, and may seem perhaps to be a technical affair of those whose vocation lies in academic work.

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, Vol. I., p. 347.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 452.

It does profoundly concern them, and it is much to be desired that more of the best minds in the Church in the West were devoted to the great task of articulating the Christian gospel in a way which may help to commend it to the earnest and perplexed minds of the modern world of Asia and Africa.

But it is not only a task for them; and the "prophet and thinker of the first rank" whom Dr Kraemer desiderated is not likely to arise except in a society which is looking for him and at least knows its need. It is a task for any Christian who wants to worship the Lord God with his mind. Each of us has a little universe of desire and thought and action, a world of our own, in which our ideals and our fundamental thoughts about Reality are laid up. We can see to it that that world in our own hearts and minds is at one within itself, and that its unity is found in Christ.

How easy it is to accept sincerely the Godhead of Jesus Christ with one part of the self, and with another to deny His lordship in the social and national realm; or to assent to policies of bland imperialism while accepting forgiveness through the Cross; or to slip into materialistic ways of thinking about education, or about economics, and yet to say in Church with complete sincerity, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life"!

What does Dr Kraemer mean—leaving aside matters of pure theology or philosophy—when he says that missionaries are sent out by a Church which has separate dogmas but no comprehensive view of the world? He means something like this: that Christians believe things which, taken together, do not make sense,

morally or intellectually. One bit of them accepts the supremacy of Jesus, bows before His moral beauty, sincerely yields to Him as Son of God. Another bit has become obsessed by the majestic work of science and sees only natural law and mechanical processes. Another bit believes in keeping up the prestige of the white man among coloured people—after all we do it for their good! Another bit thinks it wrong to bring religion into social or public affairs, for these things have nothing to do with religion.

Christianity, being a life of victorious communion with God in the world, is a much greater thing than any philosophy. Christianity is not merely an explanation of things, and it demands more of us than only taking thought. The simple and the children come to the truth of Christ more readily than the learned. Yet we must never lose grip of the truth that in Jesus we are sure of the ultimate reality of love in the world, and that that is a truth which ought to affect radically the whole of our thinking.

To be a Christian means, among other things, that we are to take this principle of love and resolutely determine to carry it into every sphere of our life and thought. Almost certainly we shall find this impossible, for there will be difficult places where it seems that love fails as the key to life. There is nothing to do, then, but to wait and hold on to our faith, believing that the universe is God's and that the final principle of being that has been revealed to us in Christ cannot fail. But we may be certain that, whatever the difficulties, it cannot be true that one principle holds in "religion," and another in politics,

and another in social questions, and another in natural science. Religion is not a part of life ; it is the whole of life offered up to God and received from Him with His light irradiating it. " Religion means that you bet your life there is a God." Yes, and the venture of faith does not cease when you have found Him in your secret heart, for you must go on finding Him everywhere, and everywhere and always the same.

III

Of the nature of the specifically missionary obligation which arises from this belief in Christ so much already has been said that little need be added. Once it is acknowledged that in Jesus Christ God has perfectly revealed Himself, and has come to the succour of men who needed a Saviour, there can be little argument about the duty of " carrying the gospel." But it is plain that the policy of " missions " must be constantly adjusted to the realities of the world in which the work goes on, and that those who control and support it must be awake to those realities.

It is in the highest degree essential that the full meaning of the emergence of the " younger Churches " shall be faced, and the development of policy in the direction of a full and equal partnership undertaken. This will demand both sympathy and vision from those who have the planning of policies and from those, the far greater number, whose cordial support is necessary to any advance. It is essential again that in all the vast and far-spreading work of missions the principles of true education, so profoundly Christian

as we have seen them to be, shall be more truly followed, and the possibilities of Christian education, in a world which wants education and wants the best, be revealed more than ever before. Again, we have seen a whole realm opening before us as we considered the task of carrying the message of Christ into the redemption of the social order throughout the world. We saw new " unoccupied fields " of the human spirit, and realized new demands, new types of work, new forms of service.

Indeed, it is true that on a missionary movement already labouring heavily, trying to perform with overworked men and women and insufficient funds a task already of enormous dimensions, new burdens are being laid.

IV

Clearer thought and harder work—is that the need ? If that is all, we shall not get beyond the mere increasing of a burden. Let us increase the burden a little more, and then it may be we shall get to the marrow of the thing. An Indian, speaking at Jerusalem on the Christian message, after explaining that Hindus were on the whole of the opinion that the fruits of Hindu saintliness compared not unfavourably with those of Christianity as they saw it, ended with the words, " If you have the Holy Spirit, pass it on." And the Japanese Kagawa, writing from his sacrificial work in the slums of Japan, says :

The future victory of Christianity depends upon the Christian love shown in practical life, so that the love

of Christ shown in His death on the Cross is greater than the love of Buddha. Through love we must try to show that God's love through the Cross is greater than the death of Buddha. The Japanese are tired of arguments, and doctrinal sermons make lumps rise in their ears like the lumps on the camel's back ! Here lies the message of Christianity in Japan : unless the love of Christianity is greater than that of Buddhism, it is very difficult to lead the Buddhist to Christ.

And we have seen that when the " younger Churches " ask themselves what they chiefly want in the missionary and from the older Churches of the West, it is spiritual life and help. Who is sufficient for these things ?

V

Is it not the truth that so long as we think of the world wide mission of Christianity as something outside of ourselves which we " support," or in which we " take an interest," we have not penetrated to the realities ? Is it not the truth that there must always be something a little forced, a little artificial, in a missionary enthusiasm which does not rest on the realization that the need of the whole world is exactly the same as the need of one's own soul, and which is not nurtured by a passion for Christ which finds Him to be the Saviour of the world because He is the Saviour who has met one in the depths ?

" For He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." Perhaps it is wrong to suggest that the sense of personal

salvation must come before the sense of Christ's power to save the world. The two are parts of the same thing. But it is here that we find freedom and power. We meet in Him the fullness of the grace of God. We forget our search for Him because we realize that He has sought for us before ever we thought upon Him. We know that the need and aspiration of our hearts is met and satisfied, not by something that appeals only to us as members of a nation or a class or a type of humanity, but by that which is by its very nature for all humanity—and therefore for us too. And when we find that it is not we that have searched for God but He that has laid hold upon us, we can see a glimpse of

> That great love which like a flame
> Is always burning in His heart—

and understand that what has met and transformed us is the very love of God, going out eternally to the world that He has made and that can only find peace from its restlessness as it finds rest in Him.

The belief of the Christian soul in Christ is in its very essence a belief in the universal adequacy of Christ. What the Church (which is to say, persons such as the writer and readers of this book) mainly lacks is the kind of compelling faith for which a passion of self-giving is the only response that the soul can make to a love which it knows to be infinite.

When the soul thus knows Christ, it knows the need of all men. We have seen how remarkably alike are the problems which are facing the different nations in the modern world, and how the same influences

of thought are playing upon men and women of all races and peoples. But the deepest need of all is that which is everywhere the same, and it is only truly understood by him to whom Christ has spoken.

VI

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? It is that we give ourselves utterly and without reserve to the task of making known the good news about God. There should be no sense of separation between "home" and "foreign"; just because the setting in the latter case is unfamiliar it will be necessary to acquaint ourselves with the facts, but the fight against materialism and secularism, the championing of the oppressed, Christian education, the breaking down of racial and class barriers, the witness of the life of the Church, the fundamental work of bringing men to the knowledge of God in Christ—all are begun in a man's own environment if they are real at all, and he will help to extend them all over the world if they are to remain real for him.

It is no departure from the principles here stated if some special emphasis is laid upon the need for personal service in the work of the Church abroad. The simple truth is that the mind most naturally occupies itself with what is near, and though the work be one in India or England, China or America or Germany, yet the distant call and need is not heard unless the ear listen for it. God, in His self-giving to the world, needs messengers, and none of us dare settle down to a life work without having asked and humbly

answered the question whether we be not of those whom He would have to go far away to serve Him. That is the least—and the most—that can be said.

Thought, planning, personal service—all these will call to some. Yet there is one response of the human spirit to the revelation of the love of God in Christ and the need of the world for Him which must come from every heart that God has touched. It is the one great sign of growing and reviving life in the Church that on all hands men are realizing their lack of the spirit of prayer and are seeking the renewal of the life of prayer. It is the strangest paradox of the Christian life, that the promises of Jesus to believing prayer are so incredibly great, and the obstacles and barriers and inhibitions that most of us find in our efforts to pray are so nearly invincible. "Ye shall have whatsoever ye ask." And we do not ask, or only intermittently.

Let us, then, as the supreme obedience of the human soul to the Lord who has given it life, turn again to prayer, prayer in the name of Christ, wherein our wills are identified with His and we look on the world for which He prayed with something of His understanding and compassion, and desire for it the things that He desired.

Miss Christlieb, in her beautiful book *An Uphill Road in India*, tells of a little Telugu girl who was learning to pray and who folded her hands and said, "Our Father, Our Father, Thy Kingdom, Amen." Even so, we may pray in the name of Christ, "Our Father, Our Father, Thy Kingdom, Amen."

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The reader will find that throughout this book the volumes of the *Jerusalem Meeting Report* are referred to constantly. They are as follows:

*Vol. 1.	The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems	5/– net
* ,, 2.	Religious Education	3/6 ,,
* ,, 3.	Relations between the Younger and Older Churches	4/6 ,,
* ,, 4.	The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict	3/6 ,,
* ,, 5.	Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa, and South America	3/6 ,,
* ,, 6.	The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems	4/6 ,,
,, 7.	International Missionary Co-operation	3/6 ,,
,, 8.	Addresses and Other Records	3/6 ,,

Published by the Oxford University Press, 25s. per set of eight volumes, and obtainable from all Missionary Societies. The volumes are also sold singly at the price marked by each. Those most useful for the purpose of this book are denoted thus *. It will be found most desirable that any group using this book for study should have access to at least some of the above volumes.

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